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SECTION II.

An enquiry into the antiquity of the firſt ſettlement of the Scots *in* Ireland, *and in the northern parts of* Britain.

HAVING in the preceding ſection on the *Scots* conſidered their ſettlement and government in *Britain*, on the ſuppoſition of their having been, long before the incarnation, ſettled in *Ireland*; my deſign in this is to examine the truth of this ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, that being a neceſſary preliminary towards the diſcovery of the time of the firſt coming and ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and of the beginning of their monarchy in the *Scotiſh* line in this iſland. This double enquiry ſhall make the ſubject of the two diſſertations, into which I ſhall diyide this laſt ſection.

IN the firſt diſſertation, I ſhall enquire into the grounds of the remote antiquities of *Ireland*; and particularly into the time of the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in that iſland.

IN the ſecond, after a ſhort account of the writers in general, and of ſome hiſtorical monuments

of *Scotland*, I ſhall endeavour to fix the time of the firſt ſettlement, or of the beginning of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

DISSERTATION I.

On the accounts that the Iriſh *give of the remote antiquities of* Ireland, *and of the firſt ſettlement of the* Scots *in that iſland.*

IT is with very great reluctancy that I enter upon this ſubject; which, if I could have avoided, I certainly had not meddled with it, but it being generally agreed on, that the *Scots* of *Britain* came in from *Ireland*, there was no treating of the ſubject, nor any poſſibility of fixing the time of their ſettlement in *Britain*, without firſt examining into the antiquity of their ſettlement in *Ireland*. And having ventured in this eſſay to call in queſtion the common traditions of my own country, ſupported by the authority of all our modern hiſtorians, concerning the firſt forty kings, and other points of antiquity, it ought not to appear ſtrange, that I take the like freedom with the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, eſpecially ſince the diſcuſſion of this laſt is ſo neceſſary to give light into what concerns their ſettlement in *Britain*. But having in this enquiry into the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, nothing in my view but to endeavour to diſcover the truth of hiſtory, and to ſeparate what is uncertain and conteſted, from what is more certain, and generally agreed

on; I think I may ſo much the more juſtly hope that none of the learned of the *Iriſh* nation will take offence at it, that my intention is to treat the ſubject with that moderation and candour that becomes a ſincere enquirer after truth, without preſuming to decide in ſo intricate and obſcure queſtions as may be made about thoſe remote antiquities: that being a task to which I muſt acknowledge I am very unequal, and which none but ſome of the learned natives, ſkilled in their ancient language, with the helps of the remains of what is more authentick in their hiſtory, could with any hopes of ſucceſs undertake.

AND indeed I have often wondered, that among ſo many truly learned and capable men, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in all kinds of learning, that *Ireland* hath produced during the laſt, and in this age, none of them have ever applied to ſeparate what is certain of their hiſtory, and grounded upon ſolid monuments of antiquity, written in times of light and learning, from what is uncertain, and hath no other foundation but the traditions or writings of their *Seanachies* and bards, in order to give a true hiſtory of the country ſince the times of St. *Patrick* and king *Leogaire*; both civil and ſacred; whilſt others, ſuch as *Keating*, *O Flaherty*, &c. render all uncertain, by putting on an equal level, and delivering, and that on the ſole credit of the bards, the accounts of their hiſtory from almoſt the deluge of *Noah*,

with as much aſſurance as they do the tranſactions of *Ireland* after St. *Patrick*'s time.

BUT in order to give a true hiſtory of *Ireland*, and for a ſolid foundation to it, the firſt thing to be done, were that according to the example of all countries of *Europe*, who pretend to have any ancient chronicles, annals, or other hiſtorical monuments, ſome of the learned men of *Ireland*, skilled in their ancient language, would publiſh, as all other nations have done, and are daily doing, the moſt authentick hiſtorical monuments of their country, I mean thoſe chiefly which contain the tranſactions of *Ireland* ſince the time of St. *Patrick*; ſince which they had, without doubt not only the uſe of letters and learning; but in ſome ages, ſuch as the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth, *Ireland* appears to have been more famous for learning and learned men, than moſt other nations; and by conſequence, it is natural to expect that they ſhould have had as good monuments of hiſtory, civil and eccleſiaſtical, as any other country. And though by the *Daniſh* invaſions, and other accidents, many valuable pieces of that kind may have periſhed, there are, no doubt, ſtill enough remaining to make ſome volumes of collections of hiſtorical monuments; ſuch, among others, are the chronicles of *Tigernach*, the annals of *Ulſter*, the ſynchroniſms of *Flavius*, the annals of *Inisfall*, &c. and the loſs which they (*a*) complain they

(1) Colgan. Præfat. Vit. Sanctorum Hyberniæ.

have

have already ſuffer'd of ſo many others, by different accidents, ſhould be a new motive to engage them to publiſh what as yet remains, to hinder them from having the ſame fate. And I cannot but add, that it is extremely ſurprizing to ſee, that though there are very few nations that pretend to ſo ancient monuments of hiſtory, as the *Iriſh* do, yet they ſhould be the only people in *Europe* that have never as yet publiſhed any original hiſtory or chronicle of their country, written before theſe two or three laſt ages: but leaving that to the conſideration of the learned natives of *Ireland*, zealous for its honour, I return to the enquiry into the remote antiquities of that iſland, and the time of the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in it.

THERE are two oppoſite opinions concerning the time of the firſt coming in, and ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*: the one is that of the generality of the modern *Iriſh* writers, who relying on the authority of their bards, ſeanachies, and poets, (which are but different names of the ſame kind of men) make no diſtinction betwixt the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, or *Mileſians*, that came into it after the four firſt colonies, and the *Scots*; and pretend, that theſe *Mileſians*, or *Mileſian Scots*, came into *Ireland*, ſome ſay ten, ſome twelve, ſome fourteen centuries before the incarnation; and that at the ſame time they ſet up a monarchy, whereof *Heremon* ſon to *Mileſius*, was the firſt king.

THE other opinion is that of *Camden*, and other learned men, who make a great diſtinction betwixt the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland* and the *Scots*: and as they are perſuaded, that *Ireland* was firſt planted from *Britain* in the earlieſt times, ſo they hold that the *Scots* were not of the number of the ancient inhabitants of that iſland, but originally a foreign people, diſtinct from the ancient inhabitants, and who came not into it till after the times of the incarnation. And I myſelf have known ſome of the moſt learned and judicious of the *Iriſh* nation, that I ever was acquainted with, of the ſame opinion: and after all the enquiry I could make into this matter, by all the beſt authority and reaſons I could diſcover, I cannot but be of the ſame ſentiment, that the *Scots* were not of the number of the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, but a foreign people that came not into it till about the times of the incarnation, or after it, as I ſhall endeavour to ſhew in its proper place.

NOW becauſe the greateſt objection that is made againſt this opinion, of the *Scots* not being the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, nor the ſame with the *Mileſians*, is drawn chiefly from the hiſtories accompanied with chronologies, genealogies of the *Iriſh* kings, and great men of the *Mileſian* race, continued down from *Mileſius* till St. *Patrick*'s time, and forwards, that have been publiſhed by *Keating*, *O Flaherty*, and other modern

Iriſh

Iriſh writers, taken, as they tell us, from the poems and other pretended ancient writings of their bards and ſeanachies: I ſhall therefore begin by enquiring into the grounds of the accounts of theſe remote antiquities delivered by them; but I ſhall do it, as I ſaid before, with the reſervedneſs that becomes a candid enquirer, and content myſelf to propoſe the objections and difficulties that occur to me about the authority of them, and the reaſons that hinder me to give credit to them, after I ſhall, in the firſt place, for greater clearneſs, have ſet down certain heads that generally all agree upon, as to the firſt plantation and ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*.

THAT *Ireland* was inhabited in the earlieſt times there is no doubt: and I think it can be as little doubted, that the firſt inhabitants of it came from *Britain* in its neighbourhood, as thoſe of *Britain* came from the neareſt coaſts of the *Gauls*, and of other countries of the continent oppoſite to it. For thus, from place to place, the world was at firſt planted by degrees after the deluge: men as they multiplied, being obliged to march forward to the new habitations in the *neighbourhood*, and therefore to advance not only on the ſame continent over rivers, but to tranſport themſelves over the narrow paſſages of ſeas into the neighbouring iſlands or lands; but at firſt, and in the earlieſt times, for want of skill of navigation, only to ſuch lands or iſlands as they could diſcern

from their own coaſts, before they durſt venture upon ſea-voyages out of the ſight of land.

THIS, and the conformity of languages and cuſtoms betwixt the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* in ancient times, makes it much more (*a*) probable, that the firſt inhabitants of *Ireland* came from *Britain*, than from *Spain*, or any other great diſtance: and theſe ſame reaſons prove, that the firſt and moſt ancient inhabitants of *Ireland* muſt have come from the northern parts of *Britain*, that is, either from the point of land called the *Mull of Galloway*, or from *Cantyre* by the leſſer iſlands, that lie betwixt it and *Ireland*, all in ſight one of another; and the more remote of them in ſight of *Ireland*, and at no great diſtance from it. And in effect we are told, that the *Iriſh* ſcanachies (*b*) bring ſome of their firſt colonies after the deluge from the north of *Britain*, that being the neareſt coaſt. In proceſs of time, when men became more uſed to navigation, 'tis not unlike there might come to *Ireland* new colonies from *Spain*, as well as from the vaſt continent of the north.

I conceive alſo, that it cannot be doubted, but that before the times of the incarnation, there was ſome kind of government in *Ireland*; and by conſequence, as the moſt ancient of all governments, and that of which a rude people is only capable,

(*a*) Camden Britan. edit. Lond. in 4to. Tom. II. p. 756.
(*b*) Flaherty Ogygia — Keating, &c.

is that of a king, or a [illegible] chief or leader, that kind of government was in use in *Ireland*; not that they had one monarch of all the iſland, but many little kings, as we ſee there were in *Britain*, and meet with among all nations in the earlieſt times, and among the people found out in later ages at their firſt diſcovery. There were probably alſo among them, as among the *Gauls* and *Germans*, ſome uncertain traditions of more memorable tranſactions. All this may be allowed to the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, before the times of chriſtianity, or to any other uncultivated nation, before they had policy or the uſe of letters among them; provided always that no particulars be alledged to have been preſerved of the dates or circumſtances of old tranſactions, no more than any ſure ſeries or ſucceſſion of kings, or of their deſcents or genealogies, at any diſtance of time, paſt the memory of men, before the introduction of the uſe of letters.

As to the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, 'tis generally agreed on alſo, that they were already come into that iſland, and ſettled in the firſt ages of chriſtianity, and perhaps a little before, or at leaſt about theſe times, as I ſhall have occaſion to obſerve; though (*a*) *Camden* places the coming in of the *Scots* into *Ireland* later, becauſe there is no word of them in ancient writers, till the ſecond or third age.

(*a*) Camden Britan. edit. Lond. 4to. p. 759.

THIS

THIS being premiſed, I ſhall in this firſt diſſertation propoſe, 1°. The difficulties that I meet with, or objections that may be made againſt the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, containing the different reaſons and authorities that hinder learned men from giving credit to them; and that ſeem rather to prove that, as the learned (*a*) *Waræus* ſays, thoſe circumſtantial accounts, which their modern writers give of their ancient hiſtory, are the workmanſhip or invention of writers of later ages. 2°. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, that though we ſhould grant that theſe remote antiquities, and even what is related of the *Mileſian* race in general were probable, that would not prove that theſe *Mileſians* were properly the *Scots*; but that it ſeems rather certain, that the *Scots* were not ſettled in *Ireland* till about the times of the incarnation, or even after it.

(*a*) Waræus de Antiq. Hybern. Præf. p. 1.

CHAP. I.

Containing the difficulties and doubts which occur in the particular accounts that the modern Iriſh *writers, ſuch as* Keating, O Flaherty, *and others give on the credit of their* Bards *and* Seanachies, *of the remote or high antiquities of* Ireland.

I MEAN by the remote or high antiquities of *Ireland*, as I have already obſerved, all thoſe particular and circumſtantiated details that theſe, and other *Iriſh* writers have ſet down, not only of the firſt plantations and four firſt colonies after the flood of *Noah*, but in particular of that of the *Mileſians* coming in from *Spain* to *Ireland*, and there ſetting up a monarchy above ten or twelve centuries before the incarnation; with the details they give of the names, genealogies, chronology, ſucceſſions, reigns, and actions of thoſe *Iriſh* monarchs, from *Heremon* their firſt king, till *Leogaire*, who lived in the fifth century, when St. *Patrick* preached the goſpel in that iſland.

MY intention is to propoſe in this chapter the difficulties and doubts that occur in theſe remote antiquities, and the reaſons which ſeem to render the opinion of *Waræus*, and of other learned men, very

very probable; who pretend that all, or moſt of theſe particular accounts, eſpecially of what paſt in *Ireland* before the incarnation, are the inventions of writers of poſterior ages.

IN order to put this matter in a better light, I ſhall reduce theſe doubts or difficulties, and reaſons to the following heads.

THE firſt occaſion of doubt is the particular detail of theſe antiquities, ſuch as their modern authors aſſure us are contained in what they call their moſt ancient writers.

THE ſecond ariſes from the account that they give us, of the means by which their antiquities were preſerved and conveyed down; and of the ancient polity and literature of the *Iriſh*.

3°. SOME teſtimonies of the moſt ancient writers that mention the *Iriſh*, and of the moſt learned among the modern; by which it appears, that the inhabitants of *Ireland* were unpoliſhed, barbarous, and without the uſe of letters in the firſt ages of chriſtianity.

4°. THAT in all appearance the uſe of letters was not introduced into *Ireland*, till the preaching of the goſpel among them in the fifth century of chriſtianity.

5°. THAT

5°. THAT even ſuppoſing, againſt what hath been ſaid, that the *Iriſh* had received the uſe of letters before the fifth age, the character of the authors of their remote antiquities, to wit, of the bards, ſuffices to raiſe doubts againſt what they might have written.

6°. THE uncertainty of the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, appears by the ſeveral alterations that have been made in them at different times.

7°. THEIR continuing to avoid the publication of their pretended original ancient hiſtories, chronicles, poems, *&c.* in literal and faithful tranſactions, ſuch as they are, without adding or retrenching, gives new grounds to ſuſpect the credit of them.

ART. I. *A ſhort account of the* Iriſh *remote antiquities.*

THE firſt difficulty againſt the credit of theſe antiquities, is the detail in which they are delivered, with particular facts, names of perſons and places, and dates of time, all pretended to be taken from what they eſteem their beſt records of ancient hiſtory. For from this we may eaſily learn the characters of the writers of theſe pretended ancient monuments, and be able to judge what credit

credit is due to men, that had the confidence to deliver the moſt remote antiquities in a circumſtantiated detail; that none, except the ſacred writers, inſpired by God, ever pretended to. Hence (*a*) *Camden* ſays pleaſantly enough of them, *That if what the* Iriſh *writers relate of their antiquities be true, thoſe of all other nations, if compared with them, are but new, and as of yeſterday. For they tell us that* Cæſarea, *niece to* Noah, *&c.*

THE *Iriſh* writers begin their hiſtory, not only from the coming of *Cæſarea* (*Ceaſrach*) niece to *Noah*, into *Ireland*, before the deluge, which is all the antiquity that *Camden* remarks; but their moſt approved writers, ſuch as *Leabhuir Dromnaſnachta*, or book with the white cover, inform us, according to (*b*) *Keating*, that *Cain*'s three daughters had long before *Noah* taken poſſeſſion of *Ireland*; and that the eldeſt of theſe ladies, called *Bamba*, gave her name to that iſland. It is true, *Keating* in relating this, and ſuch other anti-diluvian accounts of *Ireland*, treats them as fa-

(*a*) Camden Hybernia, *p.* 32 *edit. Amſterdam.* Si verum ſit quod Hybernici tradunt hiſtorici non immerito hæc Inſula Ogygia, *i. e.* perantiqua Plutarcho dicta fuit. A profundiſſima enim antiquitatis memoria hiſtorias ſuas auſpicantur, adeo ut præ illis omnis omnium Gentium antiquitas ſit novitas & infantia. Cæſaream enim quidam Noachi neptim ante-diluvium hanc incoluiſſe tradunt, *&c.*

(*b*) Keating, *p.* 17. *edit. London*, 1723. from Leabhuir Dromnaſnachta.

bulous; but a late *Iriſh* (*a*) writer, aſſuring us that the *Leabhuir 'Dromnaſnachta*, is quoted by all their antiquaries, as a moſt ancient and very authentick piece of antiquity, written in the time of their *Pagan* anceſtors; it is no raſh judgment to ſuſpect the credit of the ordinary writers of their antiquities, ſince one of *their moſt ancient* and *authentick* books contains, even in *Keating*'s judgment, the moſt *fabulous and romantick relations*.

THE (*b*) ſtory of *Ceaſrach*, niece to *Noah*, though related by the *Pſaltar Caſhel*, together with the other particulars of the anti-diluvian inhabitants of *Ireland*, is rejected, ſays *Keating*, by their beſt antiquaries, and with reaſon: but what becomes then of the credit of *Pſaltar Caſhel*, and by conſequence of that of *Pſaltar Teamhrach*, or *Tara*, whereof we are (*c*) told, *Pſaltar Caſhel* was a tranſcript made by authority.

BUT the *Iriſh* (*d*) writers are much more particular in their accounts of the firſt four colonies that came to *Ireland* after the deluge. The firſt colony was that of *Partholan*, who landed at *Inverſkene* on a *Tueſday*, the fourteenth of the

(*a*) D. Kenedy's genealogy, *præf. pag.* 25.
(*b*) Keating, *p.* 20.
(*c*) D. Ken. præf. *pag.* 18, 19.
(*d*) Keating, from *p.* 23. to *p.* 53. and O. Flaherty, Ogyg. from p. 163. to *p.* 182.

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moon, in *May* juſt 312 years, according to *Flaherty*, after the deluge: the reſt of the particulars may be ſeen at length in *Keating* and *O Flaherty*; as alſo thoſe of the ſecond colony of *Nemedius* and his ſons, of the *Clanbolg*, who made the third colony; and of the fourth, called *Tuadadanan*. What is moſt partiular is, that of all theſe colonies (whereof the lateſt, according to *Flaherty*, came to *Ireland* before the taking of *Troy*) theſe late *Iriſh* writers confidently give us an hiſtorical detail, with as particular an enumeration of facts, as if they had been tranſactions of three or four ages ago. In a word, they tell us the names of the chief leaders of each colony, the preciſe time and place of their landing in *Ireland*; the names, ſucceſſion, and reigns of their kings, and their memorable actions, each one with its date; the preciſe time each *Lough* broke out in *Ireland*, (a circumſtance not to be matched in other hiſtories) the genealogies of their great men down from *Noah*; the year in which each colony expired, or was deſtroyed; the preciſe number of years that *Ireland* was deſert, betwixt the *Exit* of one colony, and the coming in of the following one; and this when there was no body there, neither bard nor other, to mark them down: and all this account of theſe four colonies above two thouſand years before the incarnation: of which the detail may be ſeen in *Keating* and *Flaherty* above quoted, and ſaid to be taken from their

pſaltars,

Pſaltars, *Poets*, and other ſureſt antiquaries, not as yet publiſhed.

As to the *Mileſian* colony, they pretend to give of it as yet more circumſtantial accounts: and that not only from their ſettlement in *Spain*, and next in *Ireland*; but of all the pilgrimages of their predeceſſors, down from *Fenius Farſaidh* (who, they ſay, was great grandſon to *Japhet*, one of *Noah*'s ſons) of his ſon *Niul*, and all his poſterity; whoſe circuits, twice backward and forward, from *Scythia* to *Egypt*, from thence to *Spain*, and up and down thro' *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, may be ſeen at large in (*a*) *Keating*, taken, as he aſſures us, from the beſt *Iriſh* antiquaries.

THEY (*b*) aſſure us, that *Heremon*, with the *Mileſian* colony, arrived in *Ireland* preciſely the firſt day of *May*, on a *Thurſday*, and the ſeventh of the moon: they give us account of all the leaders of that colony; of the harbours where each of them landed; of the *Loughs* that broke out the night of their landing. In a word, from *Heremon* the firſt king of the *Mileſians*, they give a diſtinct ſeries, or chronological hiſtory of all their kings, down till *Leogare* (who began his reign *Anno Chriſti* 427. and during whoſe time the chriſtian faith was preached in *Ireland* by St. *Patrick*) with the number, names, genealogies, chronology of

(*a*) Keating, from *pag.* 57. to *pag.* 89.
(*b*) O Flaherty, *pag.* 84, 85, 182, &c.

their kings, the years of their reigns, their chief battles and actions, the manner and time of each of their deaths: and all this they deliver from about two thouſand years before the incarnation with an equal aſſurance, as they do the hiſtory of *Ireland* ſince St. *Patrick*.

THIS proſpect alone of the *Iriſh* antiquities ſuffices to breed violent ſuſpicions in all impartial perſons converſant in true ancient hiſtory; that the whole is an invention of later ages: and theſe ſuſpicions are ſtill increaſed by the detailed accounts of theſe antiquities, that *Keating* himſelf (as he is lately publiſhed) hath, the moſt warily he could, ſelected out of their more ancient writers, as more likely and leſs abſurd than the moſt of what they contain: and eſpecially if it be conſidered that they have no other vouchers for the *Mileſian* antiquities; but thoſe very writers who recount with an equal confidence the ſtories of the peopling of *Ireland* before the deluge, as they do thoſe after: ſo that even *Keating* himſelf is forced to abandon them in this, tho' they be their writers of the firſt rate, ſuch as (*a*) *Pſaltar Caſhel*, the (*b*) book with the white cover, and their poets.

(*a*) V. Keating, *p.* 20.
(*b*) V. Keating, *p.* 17.

ART. II. *The ſecond objection drawn from the means by which the* Iriſh *pretend their high antiquities were preſerved and conveyed down; and of their ancient literature and polity, before the times of chriſtianity.*

As all ancient hiſtories depend upon the credit of their vouchers, ſo, beſides other qualities, the more the tranſactions related in a hiſtory are ancient and extraordinary, the more ancient muſt alſo be the vouchers that atteſt them, and of a more extraordinary character. Hence the *Iriſh Seanachies*, that relate the ſtory of the ante-diluvian inhabitants of *Ireland*, furniſh us with ante-diluvian authors, and tell us of four of thoſe ancient inhabitants that lived before and after the deluge, as *Keating* ſays ſome ancient MSS. of *Ireland* record: but ſince *Keating* informs us, that theſe ante-diluvian authors, with their ſtories, are rejected by their beſt antiquaries, I ſhall paſs them over, and come to what they relate ſeriouſly, as the true account of the antiquity of letters and learning among their predeceſſors.

[illegible]s the accounts of their antiquities far ſurpaſ[illegible]oſe of all other nations, except what is re[illegible]d in the ſcriptures: ſo their bards, as if they [illegible]d had it in their choice when to begin the literature among the *Iriſh* and their predeceſſors, thought fit to fix on the higheſt antiquity, and at

the very origine of the different languages ſoon after the flood of *Noah*: and the following inſtances of it are ſeriouſly related by thoſe that they eſteem their moſt genuine antiquaries, and received by *Keating*, and others of their modern writers.

(*a*) THEY tell us then 1°. That one *Fenius Farſaidh*, great-grand-child to *Japhet Noah*'s ſon, and predeceſſor of the *Mileſians*, ſet up a ſchool of learning in the plains of *Senaar*, about one hundred and fifty years after the deluge; and having two tutors under him, *Gaodel* and *Jar*, he there formed the *Iriſh* tongue, and firſt invented the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Iriſh* letters. A particular detail of this ſchool may be ſeen in *Keating* at length, from *pag.* 59. to *pag.* 64.

BUT what at firſt would ſeem very ſurprizing is, that this ſtory of *Fenius Farſaidh*'s having formed the firſt *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* alphabets, with the *Beth-luis-nion*, an *Ogum*, or *Iriſh* alphabet, is ſeriouſly related as an hiſtorical fact by (*b*) *Toland*, another *Iriſh* writer, ſo famous for his incredulity in regard of other facts, the beſt atteſted that ever were recorded. It is true, *Toland* endeavours to mend the matter; and being ſenſible of the abſurdity of this *Fenius*'s having formed the *Greek* and *Latin* alphabets, ſo many ages before the

(*a*) Keating, *p.* 59, &c.

(*b*) Toland's poſthumous works, *Tom.* I. *pag.* 38.

Greek

Greeks and *Latins* were a people, he reforms the bard *Forchern*'s ſtory of it (according to the uſual cuſtom of poſterior bards, who, as they happened to live in times of more light and learning, reformed the traditions of their ignorant predeceſſors) and would have us believe that *Forchern*'s meaning was only that *Fenius invented the firſt letters, in imitation of which the alphabets of theſe nations were made.* And doth not the giving credit even to that, on the bare teſtimony of a bard, whoſe abſurdities he is forced to explain away, ſeem at firſt very ſurprizing in a perſon of ſo noted incredulity as *Toland.*

BUT the ſurprize will be leſs, when it is conſidered that *Toland*'s incredulity was chiefly in regard of revealed facts, or the objects of faith: for it being a property of faith, according to the (*a*) apoſtle, *to caſt down all imaginations* or reaſonings, *and every thing that exalts itſelf againſt the knowledge of God, and to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Chriſt*; this ſeems an intolerable yoke to men of *Toland*'s principles, there being nothing more oppoſite to that unlimited liberty of *Free-thinking*, upon which he chiefly valued himſelf: whereas all that could raiſe a ſublime notion of the engine of meer man, without any extraordinary aſſiſtance of Almighty God, ſer[illegible] admirably to the purpoſe of *Free-thinkers*:

(*a*) 11 Cor. x. 5.

and nothing appearing a ſtronger evidence of the natural extent of man's capacity, than to find out merely, by his own application and ſtudy, ſo ſurprizing an art as that of painting (if I may ſo ſay) or of rendring ſenſible and laſting, by figures or characters, bare thoughts or ſounds of articulate words, ſo as to convey them to any diſtance of time or place: the ſtory of *Fenius Farſaidh*'s having made this wonderful diſcovery, and being the firſt inventor of letters, was more eaſily ſwallowed down by *Toland*, though he had no other ground to believe it, nor that there ever was ſuch a man as *Fenius Farſaidh* in being, but the relation of his *Forchern*, a bard: and though he himſelf (*a*) acknowledges, that the bards in general were a ſet of men *both partial and mercenary, to a ſcandalous degree.*

Besides, that *Toland*, who ſet up ſo much for a man verſed in all kind of literature, could not, I ſuppoſe, be ignorant, that the moſt judicious among ancient writers, after *Eupolemus*, quoted by *Clement* of *Alexandria* and *Euſebius*, looked upon the invention of alphabetical letters as having been at firſt communicated by God himſelf to *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites*, and from them derived to the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Greeks* at firſt received it.

(*a*) Toland, *ibid. pag.* 50.

A

A new proof that the invention of letters was no ancienter than *Moſes*; and that the *Pentateuch* is the moſt ancient book in the world, may be drawn from the ignorance we are in of all paſt tranſactions, not only before *Moſes*'s time (except what is contained in the *Pentateuch*) but of all certainty of hiſtory before the ſiege of *Troy*, about three hundred years after *Moſes*; which anſwers the time that *Cadmus* (who is believed to be contemporary to king *David*) is ſuppoſed to have brought the firſt letters from *Phœnicia* to *Greece*. And ſince it cannot be doubted of, but that the deſire to perpetuate their memory was no leſs natural and vehement in men before *Moſes*'s time, than after it, how comes it that we have no remains of any certain account of what paſt in theſe times, beſides what is in the ſcripture?

I do not pretend here to enter upon *Toland*'s principles as to what concerns religion, but leave that to the divines, who have abundantly diſcuſſed his principles on thoſe matters: I am only concerned at preſent in hiſtorical facts, and cannot but obſerve the ſtrange bent of the reaſonings of this perſon, who pretends to be wholly governed by reaſon, and yet could believe, or ſeem to believe, that *Fenius Farſaidh* was the firſt inventor of letters, without any other ground but that of the bards, whom he looked upon, as we have ſeen, as venal ſouls; and this in oppoſition to the ſolid ar-

guments, which prove the firſt uſe of letters to have been a particular gift of Almighty God to mankind, in the perſon of *Moſes*.

BUT it is very likely, that the chief reaſon that determined *Toland* to vouch the ſtory of *Fenius*, and other bardiſh inventions of the ſame kind, that ſuppoſe the ancient uſe of letters among the *Iriſh*, was to put in credit the pretended writings of the ancient *Iriſh Druids* in times of *paganiſm*, in order to make a handle of them to rally and run down what he calls *prieſtcraft*. And ſo we ſhall meet him again more than once chiming in with the bards, for the ancient uſe of *letters among the Iriſh*.

(*a*) THE ſecond inſtance of learning among the *Iriſh* is placed about an age after the ſettlement of the *Mileſians* in *Ireland*, to wit, that twelve hundred years before the incarnation, they had publick profeſſors of learning in king *Tigernma*'s time; and thoſe already in ſo great eſteem, that they were allowed the precedency next to their kings, and only one colour leſs in their robes: this was about one hundred years before the taking of *Troy*, and four hundred years before the firſt *Olympiad*, the two moſt ancient *Epochs* of profane hiſtory. So it is no wonder that a late *Iriſh* (*b*) writer falls in a rapture at the thought of ſuch a diſtinguiſh-

(*a*) Keating, *p.* 127. D. Ken. *p.* 20. *præf.*
(*b*) D. Ken. Gen. *præf. p.* 21.

ing character of his country. *Could a nation*, ſays he, *be called barbarous, that, ſo many ages before Chriſt, ſet ſuch a value upon learning?* &c.

THE third proof of ancient literature among the *Iriſh*, and of the care they had of preſerving the memory of paſt tranſactions, is according to their modern writers, and (*a*) *Toland* among others, that about nine hundred ſixty-ſeven years before the birth of Chriſt, king *Eocha Ollam-Fodla*, order'd all the tranſactions of his royal anceſtors, from *Fenius Farſaidh* to his own time, to be review'd; and in order to digeſt them, he appointed a committee of nine, or an aſſembly of three kings, three druids, and three poets or bards, to meet every third year at a parliament at *Tara*, to examine and digeſt them for the benefit of poſterity. An account of this parliament and aſſemblies at *Tara* may be ſeen at length in *Keating*, from *pag.* 132, to *pag.* 143. where the curious reader will be, no doubt, ſurprized to find, among other things, an order, diſcipline, politeneſs, and eſpecially a progreſs of learning; but above all, a ſingular care of the annals and hiſtories among the *Iriſh*, about two hundred years before the founding of *Rome*, that will ſcarce be met with in moſt other nations in the moſt poliſhed ages.

(*a*) Toland's hiſt. of *Druids*, *p.* 50.
(*b*) Keating, *p.* 132.

I omit

I omit other inſtances that they (*a*) give of the progreſs and encouragement of learning in *Ireland*, in times, when other nations were generally in ignorance and barbarity, and refer my reader to their own writers, but I cannot forbear to mention that, in order to confirm the matter, and to canonize theſe *Pagan* antiquities; we (*b*) are told, that they were judged of that importance by St. *Patrick* apoſtle of *Ireland*, that contrary to the cuſtom of all other apoſtolical preachers, amidſt his labours in the goſpel, he thought it became him to liſt himſelf in the committee of nine, with two other biſhops, amidſt their bards and kings, and digeſt the hiſtorical and genealogical collections of their *Pagan* antiquities.

THE firſt thing that is to be remarked on theſe high pretenſions to ſo ſurprizingly antient literature and polity is, that the invention proves that the *Iriſh* were conſcious to themſelves, that an early literature and polity were abſolutely neceſſary to gain credit to their high antiquities: ſo that if they were deprived of that ſupport, it would ſeem, that even in their own judgment the credit of their antiquities would be quite ſunk.

(*a*) Keating, *p.* 147. *cap.* 217, 252. D. Ken. *præf. pag.* 19, 20, *&c.*

(*b*) Keating, *p.* 335.

(*c*) D. Ken. *præf. pag.* 118.

AND

AND yet in the ſecond place it is evident, that all thoſe inſtances that they give of the early ſettlement of learning and polity among them, are yet more incredible if they be well conſidered, and more liable to exceptions, and ſo ſtand as yet more in need of new proofs to ſupport them, than thoſe very antiquities which they are brought to ſupport and authorize, and indeed ſerve only to prove the fertility of the bards imaginations in invention.

FOR however the high antiquities of *Ireland*, or the detailed accounts they give of the ſettlement and hiſtory of their ſeveral ancient colonies, and among others of that of the *Mileſians*, muſt be all looked upon abſolutely as uncertain; whilſt hitherto no ancient writer appears within two thouſand years of the time, to atteſt or ſupport them; yet they have at leaſt this advantage, above the accounts that the *Iriſh* give in ſo many inſtances of their having been ſo anciently poliſhed with learning, that theſe inſtances of learning being equally deſtitute of all credible teſtimonies from ancient authors or records to ſupport them, can be more plainly ſhewn to be groundleſs, as well by the concurrent teſtimonies of ancient writers, and by the moſt learned among the modern, that have examined into them, as by the terms that the *Iriſh* make uſe of in learning, and by the proper characters of their letters, ſuch as have hitherto been

been publiſhed. By all which it appears, that *Ireland*, far from having the advantage over the *Greeks* and *Romans*, of a more early ſettlement of learning and polity, as a late *Iriſh* (*a*) writer boaſts; on the contrary, it remained much longer in ignorance, and without the uſe of letters, than moſt of the other weſtern countries, who acknowledged they were beholden for their being civilized to the *Romans*.

ART. III. *That the inhabitants of* Ireland *were ſtill unpoliſhed and barbarous; and by conſequence, without the uſe of letters in the firſt ages of chriſtianity, according to all the accounts we have of them from the moſt ancient writers, and in the opinion of the moſt learned among the modern.*

THE only credible accounts we can have of any country, in ancient times, is from thoſe ancient writers that deſcribe the ſeveral nations as they came to be known, and had taken their accounts from theſe on the place, or in the neighbourhood. We have nothing of *Ireland* in the more ancient geographers, but its bare ſituation or poſition. *Strabo* (who wrote under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*) is the firſt that gives ſome particulars of the inhabitants of that iſland. The firſt account he gives of their manners and cuſtoms in his time, is juſt the ſame that the firſt diſcoverers of *America*, and of the remoteſt coaſts of *Africa*, give of theſe new-found

(*a*) Ken. geneal. pref. p. 26.

inha-

inhabitants in their natural ſtate; to wit, *that they were barbarous and wild men. Thoſe*, ſays (*a*) *Strabo*, *that now-a-days make a ſurvey of the different countries of the world, find nothing to relate of any country beyond* Ireland, *which lies to the north, and near* Britain, *and is inhabited by men entirely wild.* (ἀγρίων τελέως ἀνθρώπων.)

THE ſame author ſpeaking afterwards of the *Britains*, tells us, that in his time the *Britans* were, as to their manners and way of living, partly like to the inhabitants of the *Gauls*, partly more rude and barbarous than the *Gauls*. And then adds, (*b*) As to *Ireland*, all I know of certainty is, that its inhabitants are more barbarous and ſavage (ἀγριώτεροι) than thoſe of *Britain*; and by conſequence, of theſe three nations the *Gauls* or *Celtes*, the *Britains* and the *Iriſh*, theſe laſt were, in *Strabo*'s time, reputed the moſt barbarous. He adds ſome inſtances of their barbarous cuſtoms; but as to thoſe I ſhall not inſiſt upon them, becauſe *Strabo* ſays he had them not well enough atteſted.

THE next ancient writer from whom we have [illegible]int of the manners of the *Iriſh* in thoſe times, is (*c*) *Pomponius Mela*, who wrote not long after *Strabo* in the firſt age of chriſtianity; and gives

(*a*) Strabo, p. 114, 115.
(*b*) Strabo, l. 4. p. 201.
(*c*) Pomp. Mela, c. 3. c 6.

this

this account of them; *The inhabitants of* Ireland *are unpoliſhed, barbarous and ignorant of all virtues.* Thus we ſee *Ireland* ſtill eſteemed unpoliſhed and barbarous, and that more than a thouſand years after the times that the modern writers tell us of its being ſo civilized.

ALL that they (*a*) anſwer to this is, that *Strabo* or *Mela* had no opportunities to be informed of the condition and manners of the *Iriſh:* but for this I refer them to a modern writer (*b*) of their own, who aſſures us, after *Tacitus* (*c*) in the life of *Agricola, that the ports of* Ireland *were better known, and more frequented by the merchants, than thoſe of* Britain; as being much the more numerous, and the more ſafe, and perhaps not inferior to any in *Europe.* Now *Strabo* and *Mela* had a fair occaſion to be informed of the ſtate of *Ireland,* by the reſort of the *Britains* to *Rome,* who could not but know the condition of *Ireland* in their neighbourhood, as well as others that frequented their ports: and *Strabo* makes particular mention of the *Britains* coming to *Rome.* Now it doth not ſeem likely, that *Strabo* and *Mela* having ſuch opportunities, could be ſo groſly miſtaken, as to impute ſo great barbarity to *Ireland* in the firſt age of chriſtianity, if it had been then, and for ſo long a tract of time before, poliſhed with

(*a*) Pref. to Keating, p. 2, 3.
(*b*) Ken. pref. p. 27.
(*c*) Tacit. p. 233.

arts and ſciences, as the late *Iriſh* writers pretend it was; for it cannot be doubted, but thoſe *Roman* writers, having for their peculiar deſign in their books, to give an account of the ſeveral foreign countries, and to remark what was more rare and ſingular in them, would uſe their utmoſt diligence to be rightly informed.

BUT what ſhall be ſaid of *Tacitus*'s account of the manners of the *Iriſh* in his time; for he is the next author that mentions them. He had his informations from *Agricola* his father-in-law; and *Agricola* had his account of *Ireland* from no leſs an author than one of the *Iriſh* leſſer kings; and yet far from mentioning polity or learning among the *Iriſh*, *Tacitus* after deſcribing the barbarous *Britains*, ſuch the *Romans* eſteemed thoſe who had not been cultivated as yet by their diſcipline, as an unpoliſhed and rude people, *diſperſi & rudes*, tells (*a*) us the *Iriſh* in their manners were much the ſame as theſe *Britains*. *Tacitus* adds to this; that he had often heard from *Agricola*, that with one ſingle legion, and a few auxiliaries, *Ireland* might have been eaſily conquered and ſubjected to the *Roman* empire. This ſhews how mean an opinion *Agricola* had of the inhabitants of *Ireland*, in compariſon of thoſe of *Caledonia*, or the north of *Britain*, who at that very time, under their leader *Galgacus*, gave work to all the *Roman* legions and

(*a*) Ingenia cultuſque homi-ium [*in Hybernia*] non multum a Britannia differunt. *Tacit.* *p.* 233.

auxili-

auxiliaries in *Britain*: not but *Ireland* was probably much more populous than the north of *Britain*, but becauſe the inhabitants of *Ireland* being more rude and unpoliſhed, were more ignorant of the military art, and of all parts of polity and diſcipline.

WE have no more ancient writers that ſpeak of the manners of the *Iriſh*, before they received chriſtianity in the fifth age, except *Julius Solinus*, who, by ſome, is placed in the ſecond age after the incarnation; by others in the third: and *Solinus*'s account of the manners of the *Iriſh* in thoſe days, agrees with that of *Strabo* and *Mela*. The manners of the *Iriſh*, ſays (*a*) *Solinus*, are inhuman and rude. He adds to their being inhoſpitable, a new character which no former writer had given them, to wit, that of their being *warlike*: in all appearance, becauſe by this time (the third age) the *Scots* were ſettled among them, and began to make inroads on *Britain*, tho' their name was not perhaps yet known at *Rome*; where it is thought *Solinus* wrote. What he adds of their making no difference betwixt right and wrong, is a clear proof of their being as yet entirely barbarous, and a full conviction of the fable of (*b*) *Ugane-more*'s

(*a*) Hybernia inhumana ritu incolarum aſpera. Gens inhoſpita & bellicoſa: fas & nefas eodem animo ducunt. *Solin. c.* 36. *p.* 62. *edit. Baſil.* 1538.

(*b*) Ken. genealog. pref. p. 22.

laws,

laws, pretended to have been made ſeven or eight hundred years before *Solinus*.

THUS I have gone through all I could meet with, of ancient writers, that give any account of the ſtate of *Ireland*, before chriſtianity was planted in it in the fifth age: and by all of them it appears, it was ſtill a barbarous and uncultivated nation. I come now to examine the opinion of the learned in modern times, ſince the revival of the ſtudy of critical learning; and we ſhall find, that they are no leſs unanimous than the ancients, in aſſerting that the *Iriſh* of old were uncultivated by polity or letters.

CAMDEN, an author, in the judgment of (*a*) one of the lateſt abettors of the *Iriſh* antiquities, *of great eſteem and reputation*, and which makes more to our purpoſe, *one*, ſays this writer, *who had taken a ſtrict, particular and full information* of the *Iriſh* antiquities; *Camden* (*b*), I ſay, after having told us that he could not think that the *Romans* ever entered *Ireland*, adds, that

(*a*) Ken. geneal. pref. p. 6.

(*b*) Animum vix inducere poſſum ut hanc regionem [*Hyberniam*] in Romanorum poteſtatem ullo tempore conceſſiſſe credam. Fauſtum ſane felixque Hyberniæ fuiſſet, ſi conceſſiſſet: certe barbariem exuiſſet: ubicunque enim Romani victores erant, victos humanitate excoluerunt. Nec ſane alibi per Europam, humanitatis, litterarum & elegantiæ cultus, niſi ubi illi imperarunt. *Camd. Hybernia, p.* 33. *Amſtelod. edit. Janſon. in fol. p.* 33.

it had been a happy thing for Ireland, *that the* Romans *had ſubdued it*; *for that had been*, ſays he, *a ſure means to civilize it, and deliver it from barbarity: ſince wherever the* Romans *became maſters of any nation, they cultivated and civilized it. Nor was there any where in* Europe *any knowledge of polity, of civilized manners, or of letters, but where the* Romans *governed.* That is to ſay, in plain terms, that ſince the *Romans* never ruled in *Ireland*, there was neither poliſhed manners, nor knowledge of letters there in ancient times. In ſhort, *Camden* looks upon the barbarity and ignorance of the *Iriſh* in ancient times, as a thing ſo certain, that he makes uſe of that as a proof to ſhew that the *Romans* had never governed in that iſland. Accordingly, *Camden* (*a*) looks upon the *Iriſh* antiquities, and in particular on the *Scots* being ſettled in *Ireland* before the incarnation, as fabulous; and is of opinion, that the name of the *Scots* was not heard of till the third age at ſooneſt.

BEFORE I proceed to the next authority, I cannot but obſerve, that it is no ſmall argument againſt the credit of the high antiquities, and ancient learning of *Ireland*, that one ſo well verſed in all kind of antiquities, and ſo perfectly acquainted with all the remains of the writers of *Ireland*, as the famous archbiſhop *Uſher* was, and an *Iriſhman* by birth, hath never ſaid one word of

(*a*) Camden. Britan. p. 50, 51. edit. Amſtelod.

their high antiquities, or of their ancient monarchs before chriſtianity, neither in his *Annales Sacri*, where he ſets down the origins and ſucceſſions of all ancient certain monarchies and commonwealths, nor even in his antiquities of the churches of *Britain* and *Ireland*, where he gives us at length all that he could find of ancient ſtories concerning the *Scots* in *Ireland* or in *Britain*; nor in any other book I could ever meet with. But he was too wiſe to hazard the reputation he had juſtly acquired among the learned, of one of the beſt antiquaries of his time, by countenancing any ſuch uncertain ſtories as the high antiquities of *Ireland*. And far from believing the *Scots* were the ancient inhabitants of that iſland, he (*a*) joins in with *Camden*'s opinion, and proves that the name of *Scots* was not heard of till ſome ages after the incarnation.

THE next teſtimony I ſhall bring is, as yet, more evident, and of greater weight, than that of *Camden*. It is that of ſir *James Ware*, or *Waræus*, one of the moſt learned and beſt skilled in the *Iriſh* antiquities, and at the ſame time one of the moſt diligent enquirers after them that *Ireland* hath produced theſe many years: as appears not only by his books publiſhed, *De Antiquitatibus Hyberniæ* (*b*), and *De Epiſcopis Hyberniæ* (*c*); but

(*a*) Uſſer. Antiq. Britan. p. 380. fol. Lond. 1687.
(*b*) Edit. Lond. in 8vo. A. D. 1658.
(*c*) Edit. Dublin. A. D. 1665.

more by his work, *De Scriptoribus Hyberniæ* (a); and moſt of all by a moſt curious collection he made of all he could find of *Iriſh* MSS. relating to their hiſtory or antiquities: in the ſearch of which it appears, he ſpared neither pains nor expence. The catalogue of his MSS. was firſt printed by itſelf, in *quarto*; and again in *folio*, and may be ſeen in the great collection of the MSS. of *England* and *Ireland*, printed at *Oxford*; and the MSS. themſelves are now in the poſſeſſion of the duke of *Chandos*.

THE judgment of a gentleman of ſo great a capacity, as *Wareus*, and ſo verſed in the antiquities of his country, will be, no doubt, of incomparably greater weight in this debate, with impartial and learned men, than the accounts that are given of theſe remote antiquities by more credulous writers copying one after another, and oft-times at ſecond hand; and who appear to have had neither the opportunities which this learned man had, nor his skill in diſcerning authentick monuments of hiſtory from the inventions of bards.

THE firſt place where *Wareus* gives his opinion of the *Iriſh* writers, and of the learning and antiquities of *Ireland* before the converſion of *Ireland* to chriſtianity, is in the preface of his book *De Antiquitatibus Hyberniæ*, in theſe words:

(a) Edit. Dublin A. D. 1639.

(a) *It*

(*a*) *It is moſt certain, that there remains very little knowledge of what paſſed in* Ireland *before the preaching of the goſpel there: neither am I ignorant that the moſt part of what is delivered by writers, concerning thoſe ancient times before St.* Patrick's *coming to* Ireland, *is rejected by ſeveral learned men as fictions and fables. And it is to be remarked, that almoſt all the deſcriptions or particular accounts that are extant, of matters tranſacted in theſe ancient times, are of the fabrick or invention of late ages. Therefore, in this enquiry I have ſpoken very ſparingly of them*, &c.

In this paſſage of *Waræus* it may be remarked, 1°. That he acknowledges, ſeveral learned men rejected the remote antiquities of *Ireland* as fictions and fables: and accordingly he owns, 2° himſelf, that moſt of all the accounts we have of theſe ancient times, are the productions of modern writers; and by conſequence, that there remains extreme little knowledge of what paſſed in *Ireland* before St. *Patrick* preached the goſpel there in the fifth age: for this reaſon he begins his accounts of the

(*a*) Perexiguam ſupereſſe notitiam rerum in Hybernia geſtarum ante exortam ibi evangelii auroram, liquido conſtat. Neque me latet a viris nonnullis doctis pleraque quæ de antiquioribus illis temporibus ante S. Patricii in Hyberniam adventum traduntur, tanquam figmenta eſſe exploſa. Notandum quidem deſcriptiones fere omnium quæ de illis temporibus (antiquioribus dico) extant, opera eſſe poſteriorum ſæculorum. Idcirco in hac indagine de iis admodum parce locutus ſum. *War. de antiq. præf. p.* 1.

Iriſh kings only at *Loegare*, who lived in St. *Patrick*'s time; not perhaps that he believed abſolutely that all that was ſaid of their former kings was entirely falſe and fabulous, but becauſe he was perſuaded (*a*) *that the moſt part of all that is delivered concerning them, was either fables, or ſo mixed with fables and anachroniſms*, that there was no means left to find out truth.

THE ſecond place where *Waræus*'s opinion of the ancient learning of *Ireland* appears, is in his book (*b*) *De Scriptoribus Hyberniæ*; of the writers of *Ireland*. Certainly a perſon of *Waræus*'s erudition, of his skill, and diligence to be informed of all that concerned *Ireland*, could not fail to have met with, or heard of what was moſt ancient, moſt curious, and moſt valuable on the ſubject of which he treats: and his zeal for his country, as well as the deſign of his book, and his own reputation, equally required that he ſhould ſet down all he could find of their ancient writers, worth the taking notice of, or that deſerved any credit. And yet after all his ſearches, it appears that he could find no writer of the general hiſtory or antiquities of *Ireland*, worth the naming, more ancient than the *Pſaltair Caſhel*, written

(*a*) Ad prædeceſſores Loegarii quod attinet, eos certe conſilio omiſi, quia pleraque quæ de iis traduntur (ut quod ſentio dicam) vel fabulæ ſunt, vel fabulis & anachroniſmis mire admixta. *War. de antiq. Hybern c.* 4. *p.* 20.

(*b*) Edit. Dublin. A. D. 1633.

in

in the tenth age, as he (*a*) ſays in this book; but by what *Waræus* himſelf quotes from this *Pſaltair* elſewhere (*b*), it muſt have either been written only in the eleventh age, or had additions made to it in that age. However, till this *Pſaltair Caſhel*, in all *Waræus*'s account of the *Iriſh* writers, where he paſſes not over the meaneſt biographers, there is nothing like a hiſtory of the antiquities of *Ireland*; for as to the *Liber Cuana*, he only mentions it from the *Ulſter* annals.

3°. *WARÆUS*'s judgment of the learning and polity of *Ireland*, in ancient times, doth plainly appear by many other paſſages of his aforeſaid treatiſe of their antiquities; as in particular, in the fifth chapter, where he treats deſignedly of the ancient ſchools of *Ireland*, where he ſhews (*c*) indeed that ſchools and learning flouriſhed in *Ireland* ſince the planting of chriſtianity there; but doth not ſo much as inſinuate, that there ever had been any ſuch thing as a ſchool, college, profeſſor, or any learning, or even the uſe of letters in *Ireland*, (*d*) till the *Iriſh* were taught the *Alphabet* by their apoſtle St. *Patrick*, as we ſhall ſee preſently. But what confirms this matter, as to *Waræus*'s opinion of the barbarous ſtate in which *Ireland*

(*a*) Lib. 1. c. 10.
(*b*) War. de præſul. Hybern. p. 10, 11.
(*c*) War. de antiq. Hyber. c. 15. p. 74.
(*d*) War. de ſcriptor. Hyber. l. 2. c. 1. p. 103.

was in ancient times, (*a*) *Waræus* joins iſſue with *Camden*, and tells us, *that it had been happy for* Ireland, *that it had been ſubdued by the* Romans; *for by that means it had been ſooner delivered from its barbarouſneſs.*

WE may now, I think, conclude, that by the joint teſtimonies of the moſt ancient authors, who mention the ſtate of *Ireland* before it received the goſpel, and of the moſt learned among modern writers, who treat of its ancient ſtate, it is certain that *Ireland* was as unpoliſhed and barbarous as other northern countries, and without the uſe of letters, till it received them with chriſtianity in the fifth age. But this will yet farther appear, by what we have to ſay in the next article.

ART. IV. *That in all appearance the uſe of letters was not introduced into* Ireland, *till the preaching of the goſpel among them in the fifth century of chriſtianity.*

THAT the *Iriſh* received the firſt uſe of letters with the preaching of the goſpel, is proved by *Waræus*, from the authority of (*b*) *Nennius*, a

(*a*) Et ego quidem Camdeno aſſentior, quod felix fauſtumque Hyberniæ fuiſſet, ſi in Romanorum poteſtatem conceſſiſſet, nam citius tunc barbariem exuiſſet. *War. antiq. Hybern.* c. 20. *p.* 103.

(*b*) S. Patricius ſcripſit Abietoria 365, & eo amplius numero. Eccleſias qooque eod. numero fundavit. *Nennius*, c. 59 p. 115. *edit. Oxon. Gale.*

writer

writer of the ninth age, compared with the moſt ancient life we have of St. *Patrick*, by *Tirechanus*, who, as (*a*) *Waræus* ſuppoſes, lived in the ſeventh age. *Nennius* ſays that St. *Patrick*, whilſt he preached the goſpel in *Ireland*, wrote above three hundred and ſixty A, B, C's, or alphabets. *Nennius* calls them *Abgetoria*, or *Abietoria*. That by theſe were meant alphabets, for the uſe of the new converts in *Ireland*, is plainly ſhewn by *Waræus*, from the aforeſaid life of St. *Patrick* by *Tirechanus*. Theſe are the words of *Waræus*: [*Tirechanus*, an ancient writer of St. *Patrick*'s life, not yet publiſhed, explains to us, in the following citations compared together, what is meant by the word *Abgetoria*. St. *Patrick*, ſays *Tirechan*, *baptized men daily, and taught, or read to them letters or Abgetories*; and again, *he wrote elements or letters for the uſe of* Cerpanus: likewiſe, after he had baptized one *Macerca*, *he wrote elements or letters for him, and bleſſed him*, &c. and having baptized one *Hina*, *he wrote for him Abgetories, and bleſſed him with the bleſſing of a biſhop*. By all this I think it is certain, ſays (*b*) *Waræus*, that by the word *Abgetoria* is meant the alphabet, or firſt elements of letters, which St. *Patrick* wrote and taught his new converts in *Ireland*.]

(*a*) War. de ſcriptor. Hyber. l. 2. c 1. p. 103.

(*b*) Unde conſtat, opinor, Nennii Abgetoria ſignificare, alphabetum ſive elementa quæ ſcripſit & docuit S. Patricius. *War. de ſcriptor. Hyber. p.* 103.

THE

THE learned *Du Cange* (*a*) in his gloſſary ſhews, by many authorities, that the authors of the middle ages made uſe of the words *Abgatorium*, *Abcturium*, *Abecenarium*, *Abecedarium*, made up of the three firſt letters of the alphabet A, B, C, to expreſs it; each one according to his way of pronouncing. So the *Iriſh*, who pronounce the C as a K, or G, called the alphabet *Abgatorium*, or *Abketorium*.

FROM the authorities brought by *Waræus*, the learned *Bollandus* (*b*) having concluded naturally, that the *Iriſh* had not the uſe of letters till they were taught it by St. *Patrick*, and confirmed his opinion with good reaſons: (*c*) *Flaherty* falls very warmly upon him, as if he had been the firſt that had advanced that opinion, without reflecting that *Camden* had declared for it long before; and that ſir *James Ware*, from whom *Bollandus* had it, proves it by the moſt ancient legend they have of St. *Patrick*'s life. As to *Flaherty*'s proofs for the ancient uſe of letters among the *Iriſh*, we ſhall by and by conſider them. Mean time, to confirm *Bollandus*, and theſe other learned mens opinion, I ſhall farther add one proof, which I conceive will appear of weight with impartial readers.

(*a*) Du Cange Gloſſar. tom. 1. *on the words* Abcturium, Abgatoria, &c.

(*b*) Act. Sanctor. Bollandi, tom. 2. Martij ad diem 17. in Not. ad vitam S. Patricii.

(*c*) Ogyg. Domeſt. c. 30. p. 214.

I deſire then it may be conſidered, that in the ſame manner, as tho' we had no other argument from ancient hiſtory, to prove that the *Latins* or *Romans* had the firſt uſe and knowledge of letters and ſciences from the *Greeks*, than the bare names of which the *Latins* make uſe in letters, arts and ſciences, and by which they expreſs them: that alone would abundantly ſuffice to demonſtrate, that the *Latins* had originally the knowledge of letters, arts and ſciences, from the *Greeks*, ſince they ſtill expreſs them in *Greek* terms, and have no other proper expreſſion for them; as *Grammatica*, *Rhetorica*, *Philoſophia*, *Logica*, *Mathematica*, *Politica*, *Chirurgia*, *Phyſica*, &c.

In like manner, altho' we had no other proof to ſhew that the *Iriſh* had the uſe of letters originally from the *Latins*, or from thoſe that ſpoke the *Latin* tongue, but the proper terms by which the *Iriſh* in their vulgar language expreſs them, *v. g.* *a letter*, *a book*, *to read*, *to write*, &c. This would alone ſuffice to convince all unprejudiced perſons, that the *Iriſh* had the firſt uſe of letters, and were taught to read and write originally by the *Latins*, or by thoſe that ſpoke that language. Now it being agreed on, that the *Romans* never entered *Ireland*, the *Iriſh* could not have learned theſe terms immediately from them, but muſt needs have been taught them, with the things meant by them, by St. *Patrick*, and the other

ther firſt preachers of the goſpel; who all of them knowing the *Latin* tongue, and finding no expreſſions or terms in the *Iriſh* language for letters, book, reading, writing, *&c.* as being all things of which the *Iriſh* had never any uſe before, they naturally expreſſed them in *Latin* terms, the only ones they had for them themſelves, giving them only an *Iriſh* inflexion: ſo they called *Littera, Lietar*; *Liber, Leabar*; *Lego, Leagmi*; *Scribo, Scriabmi*; *Leagham*, to read, *Scriobam*, to write, *&c.* in the ſame manner as they were forced to make uſe of *Latin* terms with an *Iriſh* inflexion: for all ſacred things belonging to chriſtianity, whereof the firſt preachers of chriſtianity brought in the firſt uſe to *Ireland*; ſuch as *Crioſd, Chriſtus*; *Croſh, Crux*; *Eagluiſh, Eccleſia*; *Ceile, Cella*; *Eſpic* or *Easbug, Epiſcopus*; *Baiſteadh, Baptiſma*; and the like.

WE come now to examine the proofs that *Flaherty* brings, of the ancient uſe of letters among the *Iriſh*, before they received chriſtianity. The firſt is, that they have or had many books, poems and hiſtories (*a*), written in their *Pagan* anceſtors times. But all that is nothing but to beg the queſtion, and to ſuppoſe what is under debate, till theſe books, or ſome of them, be publiſhed to the world, with fair literal tranſlations and documents to prove their authority and age, and to ſhew

(*a*) Ogygia Domeſtica, c. 30.

how,

how, and where they have been preſerved during ſo many ages.

2°. *FLAHERTY*, for a proof that the *Iriſh* had not the uſe of letters from the *Latins*, and by conſequence that their letters were much ancienter than the preaching of the goſpel among them, and peculiar to the *Iriſh*, tells us, that their letters differred from thoſe of the *Latins*, and all others in name, order, character, number, and pronunciation and force: to ſhew this, he gives from the book of *Lecan*, (an *Iriſh* MS. about three hundred years old) the copy of the *Latin* alphabet, inverted and digeſted in a new arbitrary order, with the names of trees attributed to each letter, beginning with the three letters **B, L, N**; and from thence called *Beth-luis-nion.* And this he pretends was the ancient *Iriſh* alphabet, before they had communication with the *Latins* and *Romans.*

BUT when *Flaherty* ſets about to prove the anquity of this *Beth-luis-nion*, he brings for proofs ſtories more incredible than the facts themſelves, which he intends to prove by them. *Flaherty* tells us then the ſtory we made mention of already from *Keating* and *Toland:* that the firſt author of this alphabet was *Fenius-Farſaidh, who compoſed,* ſays *Flaherty, the alphabets of the* Hebrews, Greeks *and* Latins; *the* Bethluiſnion, *and the* Ogum. This *Fenius Farſaidh* (as we ſaid before) was, according

to the *Iriſh Seanachies*, great grand-child to *Jafeth*, ſon to *Noah*, and lived in *Noah*'s own time, about one hundred years after the deluge. For this piece of antiquity, *Flaherty* (*a*) quotes one *Forcherne* an *Iriſh* poet, who, as a late *Iriſh* (*b*) writer informs us, lived one hundred years before the incarnation. Now, not to ask how this poet *Forcherne*, or *Feirtcherne*, as old as he is placed, knew ſo diſtinctly things paſt above two thouſand years before the time in which he is claſſed: it may at leaſt be enquired, by what ſpirit of prophecy this *Fenius Farſaidh* compoſed the *Greek* alphabets ſo long before *Cecrops* and *Cadmus*, and that of the *Romans*, ſome 1700 years before the *Romans* were a people. And will the authority of *Lecan*, a MS. of about three hundred years, convince the learned of ſo rare a diſcovery, as that of an *Iriſh* writer one hundred years before the birth of Chriſt?

BUT to let that paradox paſs, there needs no great skill of the *Iriſh* language, to ſhew that the *Beth-luis-nion* is nothing elſe but an invention of ſome of the *Iriſh Seanachies*; who, ſince they received the uſe of letters, have put the *Latin* alphabet into a new arbitrary order, and aſſigned to each letter a name of ſome tree; and that this was not the genuine alphabet of the *Iriſh* in anci-

(*a*) Ogyg. Domeſt. p. 221.
(*b*) D. Keu. geneal. p. 29.

ent

ent times, or peculiar to them; but a bare inverſion of the *Latin* alphabet.

FOR, 1°. The genuine *Iriſh* alphabet conſiſts only of eighteen letters; for ſo (*a*) many only they make uſe of in that tongue, *viz.* A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U; whereas in *Flaherty*'s *Beth-luis-nion* there are twenty-ſix letters, that is, eight ſupernumerary, *viz.* Q, X, Y, Z, *oi*, *io*, *ng*, and *ea*: of theſe eight there are four which are never uſed in the genuine *Iriſh*, *viz.* Q, X, Y and Z; at leaſt in ſuch *Iriſh* books or MSS. as I could hitherto ever meet with, or hear of: but they are in uſe in the *Latin* tongue, and with the other eighteen letters make up the *Latin* alphabet: which therefore the *Iriſh* bard muſt have had before him when he invented the *Beth-luis-nion*. As to the ſyllables *oi*, *io*, *ea*, and double letter *ng*, which are the other four letters in the *Beth-luis-nion*, they have no one proper character in the *Iriſh*, diſtinct from the common alphabet, but are expreſs'd by two of the uſual letters of it; and nothing but meer fancy could have placed them in this new alphabet as diſtinct letters from the other eighteen. So, I think, it is plain that this *Beth-luis-nion* was neither the genuine *Iriſh* alphabet, nor was in uſe among them till after the times of chriſtianity, when they received the uſe of the *Latin* letters, whereof this is but a bare tranſpoſition.

(*a*) *Iriſh* Gram. p. 299. Archæolog. Britan Edit. Lhugd.

As to the names of trees attributed to each letter, it ſeems viſibly the work of meer fancy, without any reaſon or motive, there being no reſemblance in the character of theſe letters to theſe trees, from whence this bard hath named them: whereas in the languages where the names of the letters are ſignificative, as generally thoſe of the *Hebrew*, the thing meant by theſe letters hath often ſome reſemblance to the figure of the letter. And as for the term *Feadha*, *Woods*, which they gave to this alphabet, it was natural to call by the name of a foreſt or wood; an alphabet whereof each letter was metamorphoſed into a tree.

ANOTHER proof which the *Iriſh* modern writers bring for the antiquity of their letters, is from the form of their characters, as being peculiar to the *Iriſh* (*a*), and *not agreeing with the* Greek *or* Latin *characters, or perhaps any other now in the world.* But ſuch arguments as theſe are only fit to impoſe upon thoſe that never ſaw any *Latin* books or characters, but in vulgar print; and never had occaſion to ſee any MS. but *Iriſh*: for if they had ſeen any ancient *Latin* MSS. or characters, they would have in the firſt place found, by peruſing thoſe of the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, and following ages, down to the times of printing, as great differences betwixt the figures of letters, and form of the writing in MSS. of all countries, and the com-

(*a*) D. Ken. pref. p. 27.

mon

mon print, as betwixt the uſual characters in printed books, and thoſe of the *Iriſh*; and yet originally all of them derived from the ancient *Roman* or *Latin* characters or letters.

In the ſecond place, the inſpection of old *Latin* MSS. or charters will furniſh new proofs to demonſtrate, that the *Iriſh* had their letters originally from the *Latins*, or thoſe that uſed the *Latin* characters; for all the characters of the *Iriſh* letters, (without excepting the *Saxon* (*a*) *f*, *g*, *r*, *s*, which ſeem more extraordinary to vulgar readers) are generally to be met with in the ſame form in ancient MSS. and charters, not only of *Britain*, but none of them but are in MSS. of other foreign countries, who had nothing to do with *Ireland*. And in many countries, where no body doubts they had the firſt uſe of letters from the *Latins*, the characters of old MSS. differ much more from the vulgar printed characters of the *Latin* than the *Iriſh* do. Such are the *Merovingian* and *Longobardick* characters: for a proof of this I refer the reader to the ſchemes of characters, and of old writ, which he will find in the learned *F. Mabillon*'s book, *De Re Diplomatica*, in caſe he have not the opportunity to inſpect *Latin* MSS. where he will generally find, even in MSS. of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth ages,

(*a*) ꝼ, ꝺ, ꝓ, ꝛ.

much the ſame characters, or forms of letters, that are made uſe of in the *Iriſh* tongue; and little or no difference, but in the forms of abbreviations: for which, not only the people of different languages, but every different writer, may invent ſuch characters, or forms of contractions, as he fancies will moſt abridge.

THE ſame thing may be ſaid as to the notes for writing ſecrets, called by the *Iriſh Ogum*; of which *Waræus* ſays he had ſome copies; and one *Donald Forbis* mentions others: for no body doubts but the *Iriſh* had their notes or cyphers for writing ſhort hand, and keeping their ſecrets; eſpecially the *Druids*, for preſerving from the knowledge of chriſtians the ſecret of their profane myſteries, made uſe, no doubt, of ſecret characters or letters, from the time that once the uſe of letters was introduced in *Ireland*. All other nations, and every private man, may have the ſame, for keeping ſecrets, and thoſe entirely different from their uſual letters: ſuch among the *Romans* were the *Notæ Tironis*, whereof a ſpecimen may be ſeen in *F. Mabillon*'s diplomaticks. *Trithemius* alſo hath written a book on the ſubject, *De Steganographia*: ſo I do not well conceive for what this ſerves towards proving the antiquity of the *Iriſh* letters; or that they were not originally the ſame as the *Roman* or *Latin* character. Since *Waræus*, who is brought in to prove

that

that the *Iriſh* had ſuch characters, (*a*) tells us, that the *Ogum* did not contain the *Iriſh* vulgar character, but a hidden way of writing for preſerving their ſecrets.

AND thus far as to the arguments brought by *Flaherty*, and other modern *Iriſh* writers, againſt the opinion of the learned *Bollandus*, concerning the ancient uſe of letters in *Ireland*; with which ſubject, tho' (*b*) *Flaherty* fills up about thirty pages of his *Ogygia*; yet the far greateſt part is ſpent in uſeleſs flouriſhes on the origine of letters in general, and on the uſe and new order of the *Iriſh* new invention of *Bethluiſnion*, there being little in his book, beſides what we have mentioned, that looks like proofs of their having had the uſe of letters before chriſtianity, unleſs we call proofs citations of legends of St. *Patrick*'s life, written long after his time.

AFTER all, I do not pretend that no private perſon among the *Iriſh* had the uſe of letters before the coming in of St. *Patrick*, and the preaching of the goſpel to them: for it may have very well happened, that ſome of the *Iriſh*, before that time, paſſing over to *Britain*, or other parts of the *Roman* empire, where the uſe of letters was

(*a*) Præter caracteres vulgares utebantur etiam veteres Hyberni variis occultis ſcribendi formulis, ſeu artificiis *Ogum* dictis, quibus ſecreta ſua ſcribebant. *War. antiq. Hyb. cap.* 2. *pag.* 12.

(*b*) Ogyg. domeſt. from *p.* 214 to *p.* 245.

common, might have *learned to read and write.* It might alſo have happened that the *Druids*, who were the magicians of theſe times, might have had certain hieroglyphick characters to expreſs their diabolical myſteries; and that the remains of thoſe are what *Toland* and others make ſuch a noiſe about. But if the *Iriſh* had any diſtinct character or form of alphabetical letters different from thoſe which we have above mentioned, and which were introduced to *Ireland* by St. *Patrick*, how comes it that all this time, eſpecially within theſe laſt fifty or ſixty years, that the matter hath been agitated, and the diſpute warm about it, none of them have ever publiſhed any ſpecimen of theſe peculiar *Iriſh* letters, or at leaſt an alphabet of them: ſuch as *F. Mabillon* hath given of all ancient forms of letters, and Dr. *Hickes* more particularly of the *Runick*, and other northern characters?

WHAT I deſigned to ſhew in this paragraph is, that the uſe of letters was not ancient among the *Iriſh*, that they had it from the *Romans*, or thoſe that ſpoke the *Latin* tongue: and that it was ſo very rare, if at all, in *Ireland*, till after the preaching of the goſpel, that it could not be properly ſaid to have been received in that nation till then; no more than it can be properly ſaid that chriſtianity was received there before St. *Patrick*; though it is not unlikely that ſome private perſons might have been taught the goſpel, either at home or in other countries, and believed in Chriſt before the preaching of St. *Patrick*.

NOW

Now if the uſe of letters was not received in *Ireland* till the coming of this ſaint, which was during the reign of king *Leogaire*; how was it poſſible that any certain account of hiſtory of the former ages could have been preſerved? Accordingly the more famous and authentick chronicles or annals of *Ireland*, that have hitherto appeared, tho' never as yet printed, generally begin the ſeries and chronology of their kings, no higher than the reign of this king *Leogaire*, and about the time of St. *Patrick*. Such are the annals of *Ulſter*, whereof there is a fair copy, with ſeveral other MSS. relating to *Ireland*, in the library of his grace the duke of *Chandos*, who was pleaſed to do me the honour to grant me acceſs to it: theſe annals which are in *Iriſh* character begin only at the year of our Lord 441. In the ſame library are the annals of *Tigernach*: theſe indeed want ſome leaves in the beginning and elſewhere, and begin only about the time of *Alexander the Great*: but till St. *Patrick*'s time they treat chiefly of the general hiſtory of the world, and contain but very little of *Ireland*: the annals of *Innisfall* are likewiſe in the ſame library, and contain a ſhort account of the hiſtory of the world in general, and very little of *Ireland*, till *A. D.* 430. where the author properly begins a chronicle of *Ireland*, *fol.* 9. after theſe words in *Latin*, *Hic finit parva præſcriptio de principio mundi*; and then follows a little after, *Logaire Mac-Neel reg-*

navit an. 24, *&c.* And thenceforward contains a ſhort chronicle of *Ireland*, continued down until about the year 1318. Theſe three chronicles are written in *Iriſh* character, and in the *Iriſh* language, intermixed with *Latin*: they were formerly collected, with many other valuable MSS. relating to *Ireland*, by that learned antiquarian Sir *James Ware*, and came afterwards into the poſſeſſion, firſt of the earl of *Clarendon*, and then of his grace the duke of *Chandos*. A catalogue of them, as they were in Sir *James Ware*'s time, is printed at *Oxford*, in the great collection of the MSS. of *England* and *Ireland*. And leſt I may be miſtaken in this account of theſe chronicles for want of the *Iriſh* language, and having as yet had only a tranſient inſpection of them, I ſhall here ſet (*a*) down the more perfect deſcription given of them in the printed catalogue, by one skilled in the *Iriſh* tongue, and who had peruſed

(*a*) Vol. II. Annales Ultonienſes. Codex antiquiſſimus ſermone partim Hybernico, partim Latino charactere Hybernico ſcriptus incipit *A. D.* 444. Explicit *A. D.* 1041. quo obiit Rodericus Caſſidæus Archidiac. Clocheren qui ſcripſit dictorum annalium partem poſteriorem.

Vol. III. Annales Tigernachi Eirenachi (juxta Waræum) Clonmacnaiſenſis, mutili in initio. Auctor hiſtoriam univerſalem attingit uſque ad adventum S. Patricii, inde vero res Hybernicas uſque ad *A. D.* 1088. quo obiit, deſcribit. Liber caractere & lingua Hybernica, *&c.*

Vol. XXVI. Annales Cœnobii Innisfallenſis, quibus auctor leviter attingit hiſtoriam univerſalem a mundo condito uſque ad *A. D.* 430. Inde res Hybernicas uſque ad *A. D.* 1215. quo vixit, ſatis accuratè deſcribit.

them

them at leiſure. Theſe annals or chronicles are the moſt conſiderable monuments of *Iriſh* hiſtory that ſir *James Ware*, in the thorough ſearch which he made after ſuch pieces in *Ireland*, could meet with, moſt of them beginning no higher the regular ſucceſſion of the *Iriſh* kings, and the chronological hiſtory of *Ireland*, than about king *Leogaire*'s time. This obſervation, together with the fabulous narrations that he obſerved in thoſe MSS. pieces that pretended to give accounts of the hiſtory of that iſland, and of the ſucceſſion of their kings in the more ancient times, were, no doubt, the motives that determined this learned antiquarian to begin the chronological account of the *Iriſh* kings no higher than king *Leogaire*, and St. *Patrick*'s time: and he himſelf, as we have already obſerved, gives us this remarkable (*a*) reaſon why he began no ſooner; that the moſt part of the accounts of their kings, and other *Iriſh* matters preceding king *Leogaire*'s time, were either *fabulous, or ſtrangely mixed with fables and anachroniſms.*

I ſhall not here repeat the ſolid difficulties that the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in his *Antiquities of the Britiſh churches*, raiſes againſt the accounts contained in the *Iriſh* writers of their remote antiquities, but referr the reader to the places which I have here (*b*) quoted; and in particular to the ob-

(*a*) Vel fabulæ ſunt vel fabulis & anachroniſmis mirè admixta. *Waræus de antiq. Hybern. cap. 4. p. 20.*

(*b*) Stillingfleet antiq. p. 266, 267, &c.

ſervations

ſervations which he makes in his (*a*) *preface*, againſt their calculating ſo preciſely by the year of the world, particular facts, whilſt it appears that they could have no certain rules for regulating chronological dates in ancient times.

BUT I cannot but ſet down here another objection that preſents itſelf to me, and appears very conſiderable againſt the chronological part of their remote antiquities; and ſeems evidently to prove, that they have been all compoſed in much later times, and only after the *Iriſh* had communication or intercourſe with thoſe that ſpoke the *Latin* tongue.

FOR in the ſame manner, as it hath been already obſerved, that the proper names of which the *Iriſh*, in their language, make uſe to expreſs *letters*, *a book*, *to read*, *to write*, being all derived from the *Latin*, prove that they had the uſe of letters from thoſe that ſpoke the *Latin* tongue: ſo alſo the only proper names that the *Iriſh* in their language give to each number, being manifeſtly derived from the ſame numerical names of the *Latin*, and only altered in conformity to the *Iriſh* idiom, ſeem equally to prove, that they had not the art of calculation or numbering, much leſs ...at of chronology, till they received it by communication with thoſe that ſpoke the *Latin* tongue.

(*a*) Stillingfleet, *pref.* *p.* 33, 34.

THUS

THUS from *Unus* is derived *aon*, pronounced *eun*, from *Duo*, *Do*, or *Dha*, from *Tres tri*; from *quatuor*, *ceathar*, or *ceitre*; for having no Q in their language, they make uſe of C, which is always pronounced as K inſtead of Q; from *Quinquè*, *Cuige*, or *Coige*; the C as we ſaid, or the G ſtanding for Q, and the *n* being ſunk to render the pronunciation more ſmooth; *Se* or *She* from *Sex*, dropping the *x*, which is not in uſe in their language; *Seacht* for *Sept* or *Septem*, the *pt* being altered to *cht*, more uſual in their tongue; *Ocht* or *Ochd*, is ſenſibly from *Octo*; and ſo is *Noi* or *Naoi* from *Novem*; and yet more, *Deic* from *Decem*. *Fichit* or *Fichid*, inſtead of *vighit* from *Viginti*, by the uſual alteration of the letters V into F, and T into D, as *Toland* (*a*) obſerves, as well as of G into C; and the *n* being ſunk to render the pronunciation more ſmooth, as we have ſeen it is in *Cuige* for *Cuinge*: ſo it is likewiſe in *Ceud* or *Cead*, inſtead of *Cent*, from *Centum*: for the D and T are reciprocal, as hath been already obſerved: the laſt number *Mil.* is yet more ſenſibly from the *Latin Mille*: and all the reſt of the intermediate numbers are compounded, or derived from theſe primitive ones.

4. NOW it is not eaſily to be conceived, how the *Iriſh* bards could preſerve any chronological ac-

(*a*) Toland's hiſt. of *Druids*, *pag.* 29. *note* 36.

count before they received the uſe of counting or numbering, and by conſequence that of proper names for the numbers, from one to a thouſand; for I ſuppoſe there was no *Ogum* for the numbers, as they pretend there was for the *Alphabet*; and the natural way of counting by the ten fingers, or by heaps of little ſtones, might ſerve indeed well enough for the neceſſary uſes of life in barbarous times, but could be of little or no ſervice towards regulating chronology. So that all thoſe preciſe calculations of years, of months, of the days of the month, and of the moon, in regulating their remote antiquities; and in particular, of the arrival of the *Mileſians* in *Ireland*, as it is ſet down by *O Flaherty* in his *Ogygia*, will appear rather a new objection, than a proof of the verity of their ancient hiſtory, to men verſed in antiquity, who have obſerved the great variety of calculation of time among the ancients, and the diſputes among the learned moderns concerning theſe matters.

All that we have ſaid of the uſe of numbers and calculation, derived from the *Latins*, ſerves to confirm *Waræus*'s (*a*) judgment of the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, that they were moſt part drawn up in much later times: this is alſo confirmed by the mention that is made of *Adam*, *Cain*, *Noah*, the deluge, *Moſes*, *Pharaoh*, &c. in their poems, pſaltars, and in what they call their

(*a*) Waræus de antiq. Hybern. Præf.

moſt

moſt ancient and moſt authentick monuments of hiſtory: for how could they come by the knowledge of theſe names, but by the holy ſcriptures, or by communication with thoſe that had read them? And how could they receive either that knowledge, or have that communication, before the chriſtian religion was preached in *Ireland?*

BEFORE I conclude this ſubject, I cannot but take notice of what *Toland* ſays farther of the ancient uſe of letters in *Ireland.* A great part of what he hath on this head being taken from *Keating* or *Flaherty*, or from the ſame ſources, hath been already conſidered. He makes a long excurſion upon a paſſage of *Lucian*, by which it appears, that the ſirname of (*a*) *Ogmius* was given to *Hercules* in *Gaul*, and that he was named *the force of eloquence:* but that might be true, tho' the *Gauls* had not as yet the uſe of letters; and ſo might be only meant of natural eloquence, which may be found, in a great degree, in illiterate people: but *Toland* finds a relation betwixt the name of *Ogmius*, given to *Hercules*, and the *Iriſh Ogum*, whence he inſinuates, that the uſe of letters, with the language and religion, came from *Gaul* to *Ireland.*

NOW, in the firſt place, this were to contradict all the *Iriſh* bards upon the origine of letters,

(*a*) *Toland's* posthum. works, p. 33. &c.

who,

who, as we have obſerved, attribute the invention of the *Ogum*, or of the *Iriſh*, and other letters to *Fenius Farſaidh*; and pretend, that the *Iriſh* deſcended of him, brought them about with them from *Egypt* and *Spain* to *Ireland*. 2°. If the uſe of letters was in thoſe moſt ancient times received in *Gaul*, whence comes it, that in *Julius Cæſar*'s (*a*) time, the *Druids* in *Gaul* were forced to make uſe of the *Greek* letters? 3°. If before the *Roman* times the uſe of letters was in *Gaul*, how comes it that no ancient inſcription, nor any certain account of what paſt in *Gaul* in ancient times is to be found, but what is taken from the *Greek* or *Roman* writers? Are there not great actions ſaid to be performed by the *Gauls* in ancient times, and was not the deſire of perpetuating their memory as natural to them as to other men? And would they have failed to have done it, as well as the *Greeks* or *Romans*, if they had equally had the means?

BUT to come now to the meaning of the *Ogum* (*b*) *Waræus*, who had himſelf books concerning it, and had ſeen others, informs us, as we have already obſerved, that the *Ogum* was an artificial way of writing, different from the vulgar *Iriſh* characters, for keeping their ſecrets, a ſecret way of writing: in a word, a kind of cyphers unintelligible to all who had not the key of them.

(*a*) Cæſar. de bello Gallico, lib. 6.
(*b*) Waræus de antiq. Hybern. c. 2. p. 12.

But

But (*a*) *Toland* tells us in one place, that it was called the *ſecret of writing*; and that by *Ogum* were meant the primitive *Iriſh* characters or letters, which were of a quite different form from thoſe that St. *Patrick* afterwards introduced; and that they were afterwards, inſtead of the *ſecret of writing*, called the *ſecret writing* only by accident; becauſe St. *Patrick* having brought in the *Roman* letters, the *Ogum* began to grow obſolete, and was only intelligible to the learned, and became by degrees unintelligible to all others. This is indeed a very ingenious evaſion, and anſwer to the objection that is drawn from the account that *Waræus* gives o the *Ogum*.

BUT this conduct of St. *Patrick* would have been ſuch a ſingularity, as we meet with no where elſe; that any apoſtolical preacher ſent to convert a nation to chriſtianity, and finding the uſe of letters among them, inſtead of making uſe of that, as a means by which the goſpel and doctrine of the chriſtian religion might be more quickly and more eaſily propagated, ſhould begin by introducing among them a new form of characters or letters, entirely unknown to them, and which would take them more time and more pains to learn than all the neceſſary doctrines of chriſtianity And is it very credible, that St. *Patrick* would willingly put this new and uſeleſs obſtacle to the ſpeedy

(*a*) *Toland's* poſthum. works, p. 36.

pro-

propagation of the goſpel that he came to preach, and not rather make uſe of the advantage that the *Iriſh*, having already the uſe of letters among them, preſented to him to advance his apoſtolical work? And this ſo much the more, that St. *Patrick* (*a*) having ſpent about ſeven years of his youth in *Ireland*, had perfectly learned their language; and if they had the uſe of letters, might have learned that too.

But the ſame *Toland* (*b*), in another place, gives us a quite different notion of the *Ogum*; for he brings in *Will. Odonell*, afterwards a biſhop, telling king *James* I. that he had enjoined one of his aſſiſtants in tranſlating the bible into *Iriſh*, to write it according to the *Ogum, and the propriety of the* Iriſh *tongue*. Now I ask here, Was this *Ogum* that ancient *Iriſh* alphabet, or the *Beth-luis-nion*, which *Toland* had informed us above was become intelligible only to the learned? but that had been to render the ſcriptures abſolutely unintelligible and uſeleſs, not only to lay-people, but to miniſters. So to be ſure, the biſhop would not make ſuch a ſhocking propoſal to the king. By the *Ogum* then in this place, muſt be meant only the propriety of the *Iriſh* language, and ſo *Toland* himſelf explains it, or the true orthography of it, and that in the uſual *Iriſh* characters or letters. And by conſequence, no proof can be drawn from the *Ogum*

(*a*) Uſſer. antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. fol. p. [illegible]
(*b*) *Toland*, ibid. p. 38.

of any peculiar characters or letters among the *Iriſh*, different from what we meet with in their MSS. and books printed in *Iriſh* character, which, as hath been already obſerved, was introduced by St. *Patrick*, and derived from the *Latin*.

NOW whether this character, which reſembles perfectly to the *Saxon*, came immediately from the *Iriſh* to the *Saxons*, or from the ancient *Britains* to both, as the author of the hiſtory of *Great Britain* lately publiſhed, or rather M. *Edward Lhuyd* (*a*) in his *Welch* preface to his *Archæologia*, tranſlated and inſerted into the introduction to this hiſtory, pretends; I ſhall determine nothing, tho' I think M. *Lhuyd*'s opinion better grounded and more probable: but whoever brought theſe letters or characters firſt into *Britain* or *Ireland*, we have (*b*) elſewhere abundantly ſhewn, that they came originally from the *Romans*.

BUT for a farther proof of the ancient uſe of letters in *Ireland* before St. *Patrick*'s time, *Toland* tells us (*c*), that *there flouriſhed a great number of Druids, Bards, Vaids, and other authors in* Ireland, *long before* Patrick's *arrival*; *whoſe learning*, ſays he, (though he knew that they were all infidels) *was not only more extenſive, but alſo more uſeful than*

(*a*) Hiſt. of *Great Britain*, in folio, by *John Lewis*. Introduction, p. 59, 60, &c.

(*b*) Supra, p. 443, &c.

(*c*) *Toland*, ibid. p. 5

that

that of their chriſtian poſterity: this laſt ſort being almoſt wholly employed in ſcholaſtick divinity, metaphyſical or chronological diſputes, &c.

NOW *Toland* knew alſo very well, that notwithſtanding any alteration that might have happened among the *Iriſh*, in the method or order of teaching the chriſtian religion; the ſubſtance and eſſentials of it were ſtill the ſame, after the eighth age, as before: and was then the learning of the *Druids*, who were truly magicians, more uſeful, in *Toland*'s judgment, than that of chriſtianity? and do all the pretenſions of this famous free-thinker, to be governed in his belief ſolely by reaſon, terminate, at laſt, in ſuch impious notions? I call the *Druids* magicians, becauſe ὄραοι, or ὄραιτhe, which is the *Iriſh* name of *Druids*, is the ſame by which, in the *Iriſh* tranſlation of the Bible, both in the old and new teſtament, a magician is expreſſed; and that in the *Latin* lives of St. *Patrick*, and in that of St. *Columba*, by *Adamnan*, the *Druids* are called *Magi*.

TOLAND, for new proofs of the ancient uſe of letters in *Ireland*, runs (*a*) out into a long digreſſion, upon the ſingular care and encouragements of learning, in that iſland, before St. *Patrick*'s time, as *Keating*, *O Flaherty*, and others had done before him; each of them, as *Toland* (*a*)

(*a*) Toland, ibid. p. 49, 50, &c.

himſelf

himſelf expreſſes elſewhere this copying one from another, *eternally ſerving up the ſame diſhes at every meal*, and all of them referring to the authority of their ancient monuments, written by their bards; but never publiſhing any ſingle entire piece of them, equally leave all of them in doubt. *Toland* goes on, and tells us, that there are great (*a*) numbers of MSS. of the *Druids* compoſitions ſtill remaining; and for a certain proof of there having been ſuch books of the *Druids*, extant before St. *Patrick*'s time, he quotes ſome modern *Iriſh* writers, who, from ſome of the many legends of St. *Patrick*'s life, relate, that he cauſed to be burnt many volumes of the *Druids* ſtuft with fables, and heathen ſuperſtitions; at which *Toland* (*b*) enters into a vehement declamation againſt this *book-burning and letter-murdering* humour, *which*, ſays he, *though far from being commanded by Chriſt, has prevailed in Chriſtianity from the beginning: as in the Acts of the Apoſtles*, (*c*) *we read*, that many of them which believed, and uſed curious arts, brought their books together, and burnt them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thouſand pieces of ſilver, *or, about three hundred pounds ſterling. This was the firſt inſtance of burning of books among chriſtians; and ever ſince that time, the example has been better followed than any precept of the Goſpel.* Thus

(*a*) Toland, ibid. p. 45.
(*b*) Toland, p. 58.
(*c*) Acts xix. 19.

Toland. And one that did not know the fate of his *chriſtianity not myſterious*, would eaſily ſuſpect, by the paſſion with which he makes mention of the Apoſtles burning wicked books, that he is himſelf a party concerned.

BUT whatever be of the legends of St. *Patrick*, which even *Toland* can believe, when they ſerve to his purpoſe; it may very well have happened, that the *Druids*, being magicians, made uſe of magical, or other hieroglyphick characters, intelligible only to themſelves, and their confederates, to expreſs their diabolical enchantments and ſuperſtitions; and that they had volumes full of theſe, which, after the example of the Apoſtles, inflamed St. *Patrick*'s zeal againſt them: but all this is no proof that they had the uſe of alphabetical letters, or that it was common in *Ireland*, before St. *Patrick* taught it the natives.

ART. V. *That even ſuppoſing that the* Iriſh *had the uſe of letters before the goſpel was preached among them, their pretended ancient writers the bards deſerve no credit.*

THE deſcription that *Cornelius Tacitus* gives us of the cuſtom uſed among the *Germans*, living in their natural ſtate, towards preſerving the memory of things paſt in old times, ſeems a lively portraiture of the more common means in uſe among the reſt of the uncultivated northern nations, towards compaſ-

ing the ſame end. He tells us, that the *Germans* of old, had no (*a*) uſe of letters among them; and that the only (*b*) means they had for preſerving the memory of paſt tranſactions, and their only annals, were rythms got by heart, which contained the elogiums of their firſt founders, and of thoſe they looked upon as their heroes: and, a little after, he tells us, that they had rythms, or verſes on this ſubject, called by them *Barditus*, by which they uſed to animate their ſoldiers to fight. Now this *Barditus* ſeems viſibly derived from the bards, authors of thoſe kind of rythms. And thus it was, in all probability, among the reſt of the northern uncultivated nations. The only records of paſt tranſactions were the rythms of the bards, not put in writing, but got by heart, and recited on ſolemn occaſions. The *Iriſh*, in particular, agree, that the bards, to whom they give ſeveral names were the recorders and preſervers of their ancient tranſactions. It is therefore of importance, to enquire into the character of the bards in general, and of thoſe of *Ireland* in particular, in order to judge of the credit of their high antiquities.

(*a*) Literarum ſecreta tam viri quam mulieres ignorant. *Tacit. de morib. German. pag.* 224. *edit. Plantin. fol. A. D.* 1585.

(*b*) Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unicum apud illos memoriæ & annalium genus eſt) Tuiſtonem Deum terra editum & filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoreſque. —Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos. *Tacit. ibid. p.* 221.

§. 1. *Of the bards in general.*

In the firſt place it is to be remarked, that the bards, ſeanachies, or antiquaries, poets and genealogiſts frequently mentioned by the *Iriſh* writers, are but different names that deſign one and the ſame kind of men, called in *Celtick* (and from thence by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and in other languages) *bards*, or, which is the ſame thing, *poets*, becauſe they uſed to compoſe and chant verſes, or rythms, in praiſe of their heroes or benefactors; called likewiſe *antiquaries* in *Iriſh ſeanachies*, by reaſon that the ſubject of their rythms was ordinarily the feats of ancient heroes, and of the anceſtors of their patrons, or benefactors; called *genealogiſts*, becauſe, in ſome countries, a part of their office was to make up and retain genealogies for their great men, or thoſe that came to be in power.

As to the name of bard, it is originally *Celtick*, and ſo common to the *Britains* and *Iriſh*, as well as to the ancient *Gauls*, all theſe languages being originally dialects of the *Celtick*; and the word bard, in the *Celtick* tongue, ſignifies a poet, as a learned antiquary (*a*) obſerves. So we may obſerve, among the northern nations, the *Swedes* and *Danes*, any knowledge they pretend to of their antiquities, is aſcribed by them to their ancient

(*a*) Pezron. antiquitè des Gaules, p. 178.

poets;

poets, the ſame kind of men as the *Celtick* bards; and they pretend, no leſs than the *Iriſh*, to have remains and fragments of poems and rythms on their ancient heroes; and, by that means, ſet up for as high antiquities as the *Iriſh* do: witneſs *Johannes* (*a*) *Magnus*, archbiſhop of *Upſal*, his hiſtory of the *Goths*, which he begins as the *Iriſh* do, at *Magog*, the ſon of *Japhet*, and brings from him a diſtinct hiſtory of kings, ſucceeding one to another, down to his own time, to wit, to the ſixteenth age.

THE bards are entirely to be diſtinguiſh'd from the *Druids*, and from the *Evages*, or *Vates* of the ancients, whoſe characters, as well as their diſcipline was quite diſtinct, as they are ſet down by (*b*) *Cæſar* of the *Druids*, and more particularly by (*c*) *Ammian Marcellin*, both of the *Druids* and *Evages*; neither of which had any thing to do with recording paſt tranſactions or hiſtories, their whole office being employed about the religious part of the heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, or the forming their laws and manners, and deciding controverſies or debates: but none of the many ancient authors that treat of *Druids*, ever give them, for any part of their calling, the wri-

(*a*) Johan. magnus hiſtoria Goth. *edit. Baſil.* 1558.

(*b*) Cæſar de bello Gallico, *lib.* 6. *pag.* 164. *edit. Elzevir* 1651.

(*c*) Euhages ſcrutantes ſeria & ſublimia naturæ pandere conabantur. Inter hos Druidæ ingeniis celſiores, &c. *Ammian. lib.* 15. *pag.* 51. *edit. Valeſ. in* 4*to.*

ding or keeping records of hiſtory: and *Ammian* diſtinguiſhes them entirely from the bards.

As to the character of the bards among the ancients, *Poſſidonius* (one of the moſt ancient authors that mention them) quoted by *Athenæus*, reckons them among the paraſites, that lived by their flattering great or rich men. (*a*) *Diodorus* gives much the ſame account of them: and *Appian* ſpeaks of them much in the ſame ſenſe. Upon theſe and other paſſages of the ancients, the learned (*b*) *Valeſius*, in his notes upon *Ammian Marcellin*, gives us the following deſcription of them. By this, ſays *Valeſius*, it appears the bards were nothing elſe but paraſites, and ſuch a kind of men as the *Latins* call *Scurræ*, or buffoons: for as theſe buffoons, or *Scurræ*, uſed to follow the armies to divert the ſoldiers in their banquets, by their geſts and mimical geſtures; ſo likewiſe the bards uſed to do. But this character ſeems too hard, if literally preſſed: for it appears by *Ammian*, in the place upon which *Valeſius* comments here, that the bards had beſides this, at leaſt among the *Gauls*, another more honourable means to flatter great men, by

(*a*) Diod. Sicul. *lib.* 5.

(*b*) Ex his patet bardos nihil aliud fuiſſe quam paraſitos, planeque ſimiles eorum quos Latini ſcurras vocabant: ut enim ſcurræ exercitum ſequebantur, jocis ac geſticulationibus milites inter convivia delinire ſoliti, ita etiam bardi. *Valeſ. not. in Ammian. p.* 93.

compoſing poems on the (*a*) noble feats of the heroes, and ſinging them to their harps.

WE are then now to conſider, how far the knowledge of hiſtory, or of the antiquities of any nation, might have been preſerved by men of the character of the bards. And in the firſt place it may be allowed, that ſome confuſed memory of the firſt founders, and more famous heroes of a nation, might have been preſerved by their means: this may be confirmed by what we have already obſerved from *Tacitus*, of the cuſtom of the ancient *Germans*: but it muſt be alſo allowed, that the accounts which the bards or poets of the ancients brought down of the origines of nations, and founders of empires, were ſo abſolutely uncertain, and mixed with ſo many fables, that they can make no more faith in true hiſtory, than *Virgil*'s *Æneids* can ſerve to give us light into the origine of the *Latins* or *Romans*.

IN the ſecond place, ſome draughts of geneaogies for princes or great men might alſo probaly have been the fabrick of the bards, ſince that s made a part of their office: and no body fitter or it than ſuch as they who ſtood at nothing to latter their patrons, and gain favour with all that ame to be in power, who could not fail to have

(*a*) Et bardi quidem fortia virorum illuſtrium facta heroicis ompoſita verſibus cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitarunt. *Ammian. l.* 15. *p.* 51.

their pedigree traced back to the firſt founders, & moſt famous men of a nation, ſince it coſt no more than the coining a few names, or mixing them with ſome already in uſe. And theſe genealogies became a foundation, upon which to build new heroes and noble exploits in after-times, when all diſtinct memory of paſt tranſactions being extinct, there was none who could contradict them, or who would dare to do it, when thoſe, whoſe anceſtors were erected into heroes, were powerful enough to cruſh all gainſayers. Thus the bards might have coined the firſt genealogies; and afterwards either they themſelves, or others of the ſame ſtamp, created ſome of them heroes and conquerors, and attributed great exploits to them, according as it might ſerve to the honour of thoſe in power at the time, whom the bards had made to deſcend from them: theſe rude draughts were poliſhed by others, and *epochs* and dates added to them by poſterior bards.

BUT all theſe rare collections of antiquities, ſo much valued in dark ages, came afterwards in other countries to be neglected and brought into contempt, eſpecially in theſe later times; when the ſtudy of critick and true ancient hiſtory being renewed and generally received, the impartial men among the learned, in none of the northern countries of *Europe*, whether *Germans*, *French*, *Spaniards*, *Danes*, &c. do pretend to any certain hiſtory, or accounts of the origine of their people, or antiquities of their countries;

countries, but what they collect, and, as it were, glean from the *Greek* and *Roman* writers; nothing from their domeſtick writers in proſe, or in rythm in their native tongues, before the times of the *Roman* empire. And what the ignorance or credulity of dark paſt ages had received of that kind, or that forgers had invented, tho' in praiſe of their anceſtors, hath in this clear-ſighted age been rejected, even by thoſe moſt concerned, with diſdain and contempt. Thus the *French* have rejected *Hunibaldus*, the *Spaniards*, *Beroſus*, the learned among the *Engliſh*, *Geoffrey*'s inventions, and ſo of moſt other polite nations.

THUS we ſee how little credit hath been given of late generally in all countries, where learning hath been improved, to rythms or rhapſodies of bards or other forgers, ſince nothing of that kind, or very little, hath been thought fit to be tranſmitted to poſterity, or publiſhed to the world.

§. 2. *Of the* Iriſh *bards.*

BUT perhaps the bards or ſeanachies of *Ireland* were a kind of men of greater credit and veracity, and leſs ſubject to flattering, lying, or detraction, and not ſo liable as the bards in other nations to the ſeveral paſſions, that make men ſwerve from the truth, that ſo their accounts of antiquity might deſerve to be more valued.

BUT

BUT we need no other proofs than thoſe we are furniſhed with by the *Iriſh* writers, and thoſe too the greateſt admirers of their high antiquities, to prove that the *Iriſh* bards or antiquaries, were of all others the leaſt to be depended on.

ODONNELL, an *Iriſh* writer of the life of St. *Columba*, tranſlated into *Latin*, and publiſhed by (*a*) *Colgan*, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, informs us, that about the year 586 of Chriſt, it was decreed in the aſſembly of *Dromkeat*, by *Aidus* king of *Ireland*, that all the race of the bards or antiquaries ſhould be baniſhed that kingdom, and their diſcipline aboliſhed; but that St. *Columba* (a very likely tale) was pleaſed to intercede for them: and the motive of this decree or law, againſt the bards or antiquaries, is very remarkable, to wit, becauſe *they* (*b*) *uſed to turn their rythms or poems* (in which they delivered the accounts of antiquities or genealogies) *into exceſſive praiſes and flatteries of the great men, whoſe favour or preſents they hunted after, or in ſatyrical*

(*a*) Rex Aidus ſtatuerat bardos, ſeu antiquariæ rei profeſſores tota inſula pellere & diſciplinam abolere. *Colgan Triad. Thaumaturga, p.* 430, 431.

(*b*) Sua ſæpe poemata convertebant in exceſſivas laudes horum nobilium quorum gratiam & donaria venabantur, ſæpe in Satyricas invectivas in alios quibus æque affecti aut beneficiis allecti non erant. *Colgan. ibid.*

invectives

invectives againſt thoſe that were not ſo liberal to them. This is juſt the character that *Diodorus Siculus* had given of the bards among the *Celtes* (*a*). *Sunt apud eos* (Celtas) *melici poetæ quos appellant bardos. Hi cum inſtrumenta quædam lyris ſimilia horum laudes, illorum vituperia decantant.* This juſtifies (*b*) *Valeſius*'s character of the bards, that their cuſtom was *to praiſe and flatter their maſters and princes, and thoſe who beſtowed moſt upon them, and to make bitter invectives againſt the enemies and adverſaries of their patrons*, and thoſe that were not liberal to them: ſo it appears, that both the *Celtiſh* and *Iriſh* bards were equally a kind of paraſites in effect, but with this difference, that theſe ancient bards of the *Celtes* got perhaps nothing, but to fill their bellies in reward for their flatteries; whereas we are (*c*) told, that the *Iriſh* bards or antiquaries got for their reward lands and poſſeſſions.

Now let it be remarked, that theſe bards or antiquaries whom *Odonnell* ſays were decreed to be baniſhed the kingdom for their impoſtures, flatteries, and calumnies, were probably chriſtians: ſince St. *Columba* is brought in to intercede for them; and that chriſtianity had been by this time

(*a*) Diodor. *lib.* 5. *p.* 425.

(*b*) Quippe dominos ſuos & reges quorum menſas ſectabantur bardi laudabant: inimicos vero hoſteſque regum ſuorum conviciis inceſſebant. *Valeſ. not. in Ammian. p.* 93.

(*c*) D. Ken. geneal. pref. *p.* 78.

ſettled

ſettled in *Ireland* for above one hundred years: What then may be thought of the ancient bards, or antiquaries of *Ireland* in times of paganiſm? And how far would their writings, if they had left any, deſerve to be depended on, when they left the ſpirit of impoſture ſo deeply rooted in their poſterity, that even chriſtianity could not correct it? What certain hiſtory might we expect from them, if any thing had remained of their rythms to after-ages?

BUT this is not all: (*a*) we are told farther, that the bards or antiquaries of *Ireland* had been twice decreed before this to be expelled out of the iſland, their impoſtures, flatteries, and inſolence having frequently grown to that height, that even pagans had a horror of, and could not bear with them. And M. *Toland* (*b*), as hath been already obſerved, acknowledges that the *Iriſh* bards, *beſides their poetical licences, were both mercenary and partial to a ſcandalous degree.*

NOTHING ſhews a plainer proof to what a pitch thoſe pretended antiquaries of *Ireland* had carried their impoſtures and fabulous flatteries, than to conſider what the *Iriſh* (*c*) writers often repeat, of the great love and attache their countrymen had to

(*a*) D. Ken. pref. geneal. *p.* 77. 170. Keating, *pag.* 371. & alibi.

(*b*) Toland's poſthumous works, to 1. *pag.* 50.

(*c*) Keating, Flaherty, &c. D. Ken. geneal. pref. paſſim.

the

the bards and antiquaries, when they kept within tolerable bounds. To what a pitch then of lying and calumny muſt they have been arrived; when the *Iriſh*, notwithſtanding the love we are told they had for preſerving the memory of their antiquities, found themſelves obliged to come thrice, at different times, to a reſolution of baniſhing theſe only recorders and preſervers of them?

By this, I conceive, it plainly appears, that the Scots bards were at leaſt of no greater credit than thoſe of other nations; no leſs accuſtomed to meaſure their rythms and hiſtorical accounts only by love, hatred, intereſt, and ſuch other paſſions that make men ſwerve from the truth, and render their teſtimony unworthy of credit: ſo that in caſe any thing were remaining of the rythms of the bards, eſpecially antecedent to the times in which they received chriſtianity, and the uſe of letters; it may be expected that the generality of the more conſiderate men of the nation will, by degrees, look upon theſe remains of the bards, as unworthy of taking place in the body of their hiſtory, as we ſee the more learned and judicious among them do already contemn them; as the *Germans*, *Spaniards*, the *French*, and other nations have done: among whom no men of learning pretend to have any remains of their ancient bards, or any writers before the fifth or ſixth age, nor any certainty

tainty of their origines, nor of the ancient hiſtorical accounts of their countries, but what they pick out of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors.

AND ſo I think it may be concluded (*a*) with the learned *Waræus*, that all theſe pretended ancient rythms, in which we are told are contained accounts of the firſt founders, colonies, genealogies, and ancient kings of *Ireland*, are not pieces conveyed down from the times before chriſtianity was received, as their modern writers would have us believe, but are almoſt all of them the productions of later ages.

AND from all that hath been ſaid in this paragraph of the bards, we may likewiſe conclude, that tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe (againſt what hath been (*b*) ſhewn before) that the uſe of letters had been received in *Ireland* in ancient times, before the preaching of the goſpel there; yet the only pretended writers of the *Iriſh* in theſe early times, being the bards, no credit ought to be given to the accounts of men of ſuch an odious character.

(*a*) Notandum deſcriptiones fere omnium [rerum in Hybernia geſtarum] quæ de illis temporibus, (veſtuſtioribus dico) extant, opera eſſe poſteriorum ſæculorum. *War. de antiq. Hybern. præf. pag.* 1.

(*b*) §§. 3 & 4.

ART.

ART. VI. *The uncertainty of the remote antiquities of* Ireland *appears by the contradictory accounts given of them, and the many alterations made in them by posterior writers.*

THAT very little credit ought to be given to the *Iriſh* bards in the accounts of their remote antiquities, even ſuppoſe it were granted, that the uſe of letters had been in *Ireland* before chriſtianity, will as yet appear more evident to any that will conſider in the firſt place the contradictions betwixt the ancient and modern writers, in the accounts they give of thoſe antiquities: and in the next, the many additions, retrenchments, and alterations, or reformations made by degrees, in the firſt rude draughts of them, left by thoſe bards who firſt invented them; made in them, I ſay, afterwards by their poſterior bards or antiquaries, as they came more and more to the knowledge of the general hiſtory of the world.

WHO is there among the learned antiquaries of this critical age that can believe, for example, the detail of the accounts which we have ſet down from the modern *Iriſh* writers? ART. 1. Of the plantations of *Ireland*, even ſince the flood of *Noah*, and before the *Mileſians*: And ART. 2. Thoſe of the ancient literature of the *Iriſh* before the times of chriſtianity, eſpecially if compared with the accounts that the moſt ancient writers, and the moſt learned among the modern, give unanimouſly,

unanimouſly, as we have ſeen, of their being uncultivated, and in the ignorance of letters, common to all other northern nations of *Europe* in thoſe early times: and yet all theſe accounts of their ancient plantations, with a greater detail of circumſtances than I have related, as well as thoſe of the ſchool in the plains of *Senaar*; and other inſtances of their ancient literature are related, as they inform us, by their bards or ſeanachies, and other writers whom they value moſt.

BUT to go no farther up than the coming in of the *Mileſians*, on the certainty of which all their following hiſtory, and ſucceſſion of their ancient kings, till the times of chriſtianity, do depend; what is more capable to bring in doubt all the detail they give of the *Mileſians*, than to pretend to give us, as they do, the preciſe day of the week, of the month, and of the moon, on which the *Mileſians* firſt landed in *Ireland*; when at the ſame time we have aſſured proofs, that only three or four ages ago they knew not within ſeveral hundred years the preciſe *Æra* of the coming in of that colony? *O. Flaherty* (*a*), one of their moſt learned writers, places the ſettlement of the *Mileſians* in *Ireland* only one thouſand years before the incarnation: others, as *Keating* and Dr. *Kenedy* ſay, one thouſand three hundred years; others, one thouſand four hundred: but *Donald*

(*a*) Ogyg. p. 83, 84, &c. 182, 183, &c.

Oneyl,

Oneil, a king of *Ulſter*, with the other princes and inhabitants of *Ireland*, in their letter (*a*) to pope *John* XXII, *A. D.* 1317. informs the pope, (no doubt, according to the common opinions of the moſt learned bards or antiquaries of their time) that it was above three thouſand five hundred years ſince the three ſons of *Mileſius* came from *Spain* and ſettled in *Ireland*; that is to ſay, that, in the opinion of the antiquaries of theſe times, the *Mileſian* colony ſettled in *Ireland* about two thouſand two hundred years before the incarnation: ſo whilſt their writers pretend to give us the preciſe day of the week, and of the moon, of this colony's coming to *Ireland*, there's above one thouſand years difference betwixt the date that the *Iriſh* antiquaries give to it in the fourteenth age, and that to which *Flaherty* hath reduced it in the ſeventeenth. And the ſame letter contains another proof of the inconſiſtencies of theſe *Mileſian* antiquities in the number of *Iriſh* kings of that race, which the modern *Iriſh* reckon only 126 or 127, from *Heremon* to *Leogaire*; whereas king *Donald Oneyl*'s ſeanachies reckoned them 136. And it is not unlikely, that if they would at laſt gratify the

(*a*) A tempore quo antiqui patres noſtri, ſcilicet tres filii Mileſii Hiſpani cum triginta navium claſſe a Cantabria—— in Hiberniam, tunc omni carentem incola, divinitus devenerunt, tres mille quingenti & amplius fluxerunt anni; & ex ipſis, ſine admixtione ſanguinis alieni, totius Hyberniæ cœperunt monarchiam reges centum triginta ſex uſque Legarium regem. Ex literis Donaldi Oneyl regis Ultoniæ, &c. ad Joannnem P. XXII. *apud Fordun, edit. Tho. Hearne, pag.* 908.

publick with a true edition of the ancient poems, or works of their bards on this ſubject, we ſhould find that the older they are, the more they would be incredible in themſelves, and the more inconſiſtent with the new ſchemes to which they have reduced them.

BUT in the mean-time, until exact copies be publiſhed, with literal tranſlations, and without alterations of theſe ancient poems or works of their bards or ſeanachies, and among the reſt the (*a*) *book with the white cover, a very authentick piece, written,* as they ſay, *in their pagan anceſtors time*; *the* (*b*) *book of conqueſts*; *the Pſaltar Caſhel,* and ſuch others, which they (*c*) aſſure us are ſtill in being, and in their poſſeſſion, containing their remote antiquities before chriſtianity: in the mean-time, till theſe be publiſhed, ſome of their many variations and alterations in the ſcheme of their antiquities, and the inconſiſtency of their modern ſchemes of them, with the firſt draughts of them broach'd by their bards in times of ignorance, may be ſhewn, by ſetting down the different and contradictory accounts which the *Iriſh* and *Scots* give of them, tho' originally the ſame.

AND firſt, it is to be obſerved that the *Iriſh* writers will by no means allow the *Scots* any knowledge of theſe high antiquities, but what they re-

(*a*) Leabhar dromaſnaſta.
(*b*) Leabhar gabhala.
(*c*) O Kea. præf. *p.* 25.

ceived

ceived at firſt from the *Iriſh*. The *Scots*, ſays a late (*a*) writer, *have no hiſtory or records* (of the high antiquities) *but what they copied or tranſcribed from thoſe of* Ireland. I am truly of the ſame opinion, as to all that is related of the *Scots*, before they came over to *Britain*, and whilſt they made as yet one people with the inhabitants of *Ireland*: and it were a great injuſtice to rob the *Iriſh* ſeanachies of the honour of being the firſt inventors and abettors of theſe high antiquities.

THIS ſuppoſed, it follows in courſe, that the ſtories of the *Iriſh* and *Scotiſh* ſeanachies concerning the origin, genealogy, and various tranſmigrations of the *Channagaodhall*, or *Mileſian* race, were originally the ſame, as proceeding from the ſame ſource, to wit, the *Iriſh* bards or ſeanachies. Now it is certain, that the accounts which the *Iriſh* and *Scots* give of theſe antiquities, are become in progreſs of time very different, both as to the genealogy, the time of their firſt ſettlement in *Ireland*, the founders, and beginning of their monarchy there: and by conſequence, either the *Iriſh* or the *Scotiſh* antiquaries muſt have made conſiderable alterations in them ſince the times that the *Scots* at firſt received them from the *Iriſh*. And it ſeems no leſs certain, that thoſe alterations can be aſcribed only to thoſe that had intereſt to make them, towards raiſing their credit, and procuring honour to themſelves by them.

(*a*) Geneal. D. Ken. pref. *p.* 6, 7.

IN the next place it doth not appear that the *Scots* in *Britain* had any private intereſt or national concern in tranſactions which are ſuppoſed to have paſt long before they came to be ſettled in *Britain*, as a diſtinct people from the *Iriſh*: and therefore would naturally leave the genealogies, names of founders, and *Epochs* of their coming to *Ireland*, in the ſame caſe as they had at firſt received them from the *Iriſh* bards, without any alteration by deſign.

WHEREAS on the contrary, the *Iriſh* writers had private motives, and a national concern, as we ſhall juſt now ſee, for the honour of their country, to alter them: ſince, in order to render their hiſtory and genealogies the more likely, and to raiſe their ſettlement in *Ireland*, and beginning of their monarchy in the *Mileſian* line, to a greater height of antiquity, they were under a neceſſity of reforming and poliſhing the firſt rude draughts of their antiquities, which their bards or ſeanachies had broach'd in times of darkneſs and ignorance, without a proſpect of the large fabrick, which their poſterity, by the help of a farther inſight in the general hiſtory of the world, were to raiſe upon theſe rude and imperfect beginnings.

WE ſhall now compare together the different accounts given of thoſe antiquities, by the moſt ancient *Scotiſh* writers remaining, and thoſe given

of

of them by the *Iriſh* of the preſent, and theſe ſeveral ages paſt. By the firſt we ſhall ſee the firſt originals of theſe antiquities, in the condition in which the *Scots* at firſt received them from the *Iriſh*. By the latter, that is, by the preſent ſcheme to which the *Iriſh* have reduced thoſe antiquities, we ſhall eaſily obſerve, (in comparing it to the ſcheme which the *Scots* at firſt received and have preſerved) what alterations the *Iriſh* ſeanachies and criticks have thought fit, in after-ages, to make in them: and at the ſame time, we ſhall endeavour to diſcover the motives of ſome of the more remarkable of theſe alterations.

1°. BOTH the *Scotiſh* and *Iriſh* antiquaries bring down the genealogies from (*a*) *Noah*'s ſon *Japhet*: but the firſt inventors of the genealogy bring the deſcent by *Gomer*, as being *Japhet*'s eldeſt ſon; and ſo it is ſet down by *Magraith* (*b*), one of the moſt famous *Iriſh* genealogiſts, and the *Scots* have ſtill retained it: whereas the poſterior *Iriſh* writers having become acquainted with ancient hiſtory, and finding that the *Scyths*, of whom the *Scots* are thought to be deſcended, came from *Magog*, according to *Joſephus* and other hiſtorians, and not from *Gomer*; reformed the old genealogy, and brought the deſcent from *Magog*. It is eaſy to ſee, that this alteration is the effect of reflexion and ſecond thoughts.

(*a*) Fordun, l. 5. c. 50. edit. Th. Hearne, p. 487, 488.
(*b*) Codex MS. biblioth. Ducis de Chandois, vol. 78.

2°. It appears, that in the firſt draughts of this genealogy there were one hundred and four deſcents (*a*) from *Adam*, that is, ninety-four from *Noah*, till *Conarc-mor*, whom the *Iriſh* place about the time of the incarnation: and the *Scots*, in their draughts of it, retain ſtill the ſame number of generations or deſcents. But it is eaſy to ſee, that the *Iriſh* antiquaries having afterwards peruſed the holy ſcriptures, and obſerving that in the ſame ſpace of time, and number of years, there were only ſixty-ſeven generations from *Noah* till Chriſt, ſet down by St. *Luke*, and according to St. *Matthew* only fifty, or fifty-four; thought fit to reform the old draught of their genealogy, containing about ninety-four generations in the ſame length of time; and by cutting off twenty of them, reduced them firſt to about ſeventy-two generations; and not ſatisfied with that, (*b*) *Flaherty* lops off nine or ten more, and reduces them exactly to the number of the longeſt ſcripture-genealogy, that of St. *Luke*: and ſo on the whole, there are about 30 generations cut off; and the number, which was one hundred and four, (from *Adam* to *Conar*, placed in the time of the incarnation, according to the old draughts of the genealogy ſtill preſerved by the *Scots*) is reduced to about ſeventy-five or ſeventy-ſix; and among theſe lopt off by *Flaherty*, are *Fergus*, *Maine*, and others, reckoned

(*a*) Fordun, ſupra.
(*b*) Ogyg. p. 122.

ked among the firſt *Scotiſh* kings in their vulgar hiſtories.

THIS freedom that *Flaherty* takes with the genealogy, ſhews us what the cuſtom was of their bards in former ages, to reform their antiquities to render them more conformable to other received hiſtories; and that the difference betwixt the numbers of deſcents in this genealogy, in the *Scotiſh* and *Iriſh* accounts of it, proceeds, in all appearance, from the former reductions the *Iriſh* had made of it, in order to render it more likely, and ſo gain credit to their antiquities, whereof this genealogy is the chief foundation: whereas the *Scots*, having no ſuch intereſt in the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, preſerved with ſimplicity the genealogy, in the ſame ſtate that they had firſt received it from the *Iriſh* bards, before theſe alterations. And for a further proof that the *Scots* account of it is the more ancient and genuine, and was in ancient times that of the *Iriſh* alſo, we find the ſame names and number of deſcents in the moſt ancient copies of it; whereof one will be found in the appendix of pieces, *num.* 4. by an author of the twelfth age, ending at king *William*; tht other is in *Radulfus de* (*a*) *Diceto*, dean of *London* in the ſame age.

3°. IT appears alſo that the (*b*) *Scots* preſerved, with the ſame ſimplicity, the ſtories of *Gathelus*,

(*a*) Decem ſcriptor. Angl. col. 627.

(*b*) Fordun, l. 1. c. 10, 11, &c.

or *Gaidelglas*, and of *Mileſius*, whom they call *Micelius* and *Miledeſpain*, in the native ſhape in which they had been firſt conceived by the *Iriſh* bards, and delivered to the *Scots* before they were refined. That *Gathelus*, ſon of *Niulus*, having fled to *Egypt*, married *Scota*, *Pharaoh*'s daughter, and that in *Moſes*'s time: that on occaſion of the plagues ſent on *Egypt*, *Gathelus* left it, with his wife *Scota*, and followers; and after a long pilgrimage arrived in *Spain*, and there ſettled a kingdom of *Scots*, ſo called from this *Scota*; and from him deſcended *Micelius*, or *Mileſius*, in the thirteenth degree, his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of *Scots* in *Spain*. This *Gathelus*, before he died, ſent the firſt colony to *Ireland*, under his ſon *Hyber*; and from him the iſland took its name.

THIS was the ſtory of *Gathelus* or *Gaidelglas*, and *Scota*, ſuch as we find it, not only in *Boece*, but in *Fordun*.

NOW 'tis to be obſerved, (as we are informed by one of (*a*) *Fordun*'s continuators, who gives us an account of his travels, in order to collect materials for his chronicles) that *Fordun*, beſides his conſulting the *Scotiſh* ſeanachies upon the antiquities of the *Scots* in the earlieſt times, went over on purpoſe to *Ireland*, to conſult alſo the ſeanachies or antiquaries of that iſland, looked upon as (*b*)

(*a*) Supra, p. 206. ex præf. Chron. de Cupro.
(*b*) In oraculis Hyberniæ. *Ibid.*

oracles

oracles in thoſe matters; and 'tis remarked in particular by that writer, that *Fordun* not only converſed with the hiſtorians of all parts where he travelled, but inſpected their annals, and conferred with them upon hiſtory and antiquities. This was in the fourteenth age, not long after the letter already mentioned, of king *Donald Oneyl* to pope *John* XXII. in which that prince gives, from the ſeanachies of thoſe times, ſo different an account, both of the antiquity of the *Mileſian* ſettlement, and of the number of kings of that race, from what the modern *Iriſh* writers relate of the one and the other. Now *Fordun* having compared the *Scotiſh* accounts of theſe remote antiquities, with thoſe of the ſeanachies of *Ireland*, muſt have found them, in all appearance, conformable to ſome of the *Iriſh* accounts; (for by what we have obſerved from king *Donald*'s letter, they were not all of a piece) this renders *Fordun*'s authority more conſiderable in thoſe remote antiquities; which, as it will appear in the ſequel of this eſſay, was one of the chief objects of *Fordun*'s travels, in order to raiſe the *Scotiſh* antiquities as high as king *Edward* I. in his letter to pope *Boniface* VIII. had raiſed thoſe of the *Britains*.

BUT to return to the ſtory of *Gathelus*, or *Gaidelglas*: that the account that *Fordun* gives of that ſtory, was conformable to what the *Scots* at firſt had received from the *Iriſh* ſeanachies, appears for

for the reaſon already alledged, to wit, that the *Scots* having become a diſtinct nation from the *Iriſh*, had no intereſt to rectify the errors of thoſe antiquities, and therefore preſerved the accounts of them, without examining whether likely or not, but contented themſelves to hand them down to poſterity, ſuch as they found them. But the ſeanachies of *Ireland* becoming more learned in after-ages, and diſcovering the palpable inconſiſtency of theſe firſt draughts of their antiquities with the holy ſcripture, and all true hiſtory, thought with reaſon that they had as good a right to correct and reform them, as the old bards their predeceſſors had at firſt to invent them. Having then obſerved, that there was no poſſibility of making *Moſes* and *Gaidelglas* contemporary, *Moſes* being in the ſeventeenth degree deſcended from *Noah*, and *Gaidel*, (according to the alteration made in the genealogy) only in the ſeventh degree; and there being, (as *Flaherty* obſerves) about ſix hundred years betwixt *Gaidel* and *Moſes*, they were forced to abandon the *Epoch* of *Moſes*'s time: but being, it ſeems, unwilling to loſe this *Scota*, daughter of *Pharaoh*, and her marriage with *Niul* or *Gaidel*, which their own ancient bards, as well as thoſe of the *Scots*, had maintained, they reſolved to have a new *Scota*, daughter alſo to another *Pharaoh*, king of *Egypt*, to be married to one of their leading-men, and give her name to the nation.

NONE

NONE was ſo fit for this match as *Mileſius*, whom they intended to make the patriarch of the *Mileſian* colony in *Ireland*, and ſtock of a long race of kings in that iſland. But *Mileſius* was king of the *Scots* in *Spain*, where, according to the old form of the genealogy, his predeceſſors had reigned for about thirteen generations, down from the times of *Gaidelglas*; he is therefore conveyed away back from *Spain*, firſt to *Scythia*, where he is made to ſerve under king *Reſſoir*; and thence to *Egypt*, where he married the ſecond *Scota*, daughter to another *Pharaoh*, and carried her with him to *Spain*.

4°. ACCORDING to the *Scotiſh* (*a*) tradition, this *Mileſius* ſent indeed to *Ireland*, a ſecond colony from *Spain*, with his ſons *Heremon*, *Partholom* or *Bartholm*, and *Hybert*: theſe two laſt it ſeems remained in *Ireland*. But as for *Heremon*, he returned back to *Spain*, and ſucceeded his father *Mileſius* in the kingdom of *Scots* in *Spain*, where his poſterity continued down the race of *Scotiſh* kings for twenty generations, till the time of one *Eondulf*, ſon of *Edanglas*, or *Etheon*. This *Eondulf*, or *Fondulf*, ſent a third colony to *Ireland*, under the command of his ſon (*b*) *Simon Breac*, who carried with him the famous fatal ſtone, and placed it as the ſeat of the kingdom at *Themor* or

(*a*) Fordun, l. 1. c. 21.

(*b*) Ibid. l. 1. c. 26.

Teambra;

Teambra; and thus founded the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, about the time of *Manaſſes* king of *Juda*; that is, about ſix hundred years before the birth of Chriſt. From this *Simon Breac*, ſay the *Scots*, are deſcended all the monarchs of *Ireland*, and in after-ages thoſe of *Scotland*. And this was the account of the beginning of the *Iriſh* monarchy, as the *Scots* had it from them in ancient times; and ſo, in all appearance, it was the firſt draught of it, invented by the bards.

BUT the ſucceeding *Iriſh* antiquaries were, it ſeems, by no means ſatisfied with this firſt plan of the *Mileſian Scotiſh* monarchy in *Ireland*, which placed their ſettlement and beginning of their monarchy no ſooner than about ſix hundred years before the incarnation: and being reſolved to give it a much higher date, they pitched, for the founder of it, on *Heremon* ſon to *Mileſius*, about twenty generations before *Simon Breac*; and therefore, whereas the *Scotiſh* antiquaries had told us, that *Heremon*, after viſiting *Ireland*, had immediately returned back, and ſucceeded *Mileſius* his father as king of the *Scots* in *Spain*, and there his poſterity reigned after him down till *Simon Breac*: the poſterior ſeanachies of *Ireland* would not have *Heremon* to return to *Spain*, but to remain in *Ireland*, and there ſet up the *Iriſh* monarchy, ſome ſay two thouſand years before the incarnation, others thirteen hundred; and *Flaherty* at laſt hath criticized away about one half of the time, and ſettled the

Epoch

epoch of the foundation of the *Mileſian* kings in *Ireland* by *Heremon* about a thouſand years only before the birth of Chriſt.

AND as for *Simon Breac*, whom the *Scots*, on the credit of or tradition of the *Iriſh* bards, (their only vouchers for all theſe high antiquities) had brought from *Spain*, with the fatal chair, to become the firſt founder of that monarchy: the later *Iriſh* ſeanachies will have him never to have been in *Spain*, nor out of *Ireland*, and appoint him the thirty-eighth king of the *Mileſian Scots* in *Ireland*, from *Heremon*; and at laſt perhaps to hinder any ever after to give him the honourable title of firſt founder of that monarchy, the ſucceeding antiquaries (*a*) of *Ireland*, by that ſoveraign power they have, as well as their predeceſſors, to make and unmake monarchs, and diſpoſe in their rythms, as well of their fortunes, as of their beings, have doomed *Simon*, as the fancy took them, ſome of them, to be hanged on a gibbet; others to be torn to pieces.

I am afraid, that thoſe among the *Iriſh*, who ſtill ſet up for theſe remote antiquities, will be diſſatisfied with the placing on a level the *Scotiſh* traditions concerning theſe antiquities, with thoſe of the *Iriſh*: for what is *John Fordun*, a private churchman, who wrote only in the four-

(*a*) Ogyg. p. 249. — Keating.

teenth

teenth age, when compared to *Cormac Culenan*, a king and biſhop, author of the *Pſaltar Caſhel*, who wrote in the tenth age?

BUT, in the firſt place, *John Fordun*, as hath been elſewhere obſerved, hath this advantage over the *Pſaltar Caſhel*, that his chronicle is in print, and the publick in condition to examine and judge of it; whereas *Pſaltar Caſhel* is kept ſtill in the dark, with the reſt of the *Iriſh* ſeanachies works: ſo that hitherto no judgment can be made of it. 2°. It is to be conſidered, that neither the *Pſaltar Caſhel*, nor *John Fordun*, can be alledged as records ſufficient to vouch or atteſt tranſactions paſſed about two thouſand years before their times, ſuch as the ſtories of *Mileſius*, *Heremon*, and *Simon Breac*; but the authority, both of the one and the other, can be valued only in ſo far as it is ſuppoſed that they copied from more ancient writers. Now if *Pſaltar Caſhel* quotes, as we are told, the book with the white cover, that of the immigrations and ſome *Iriſh* poems for its authorities: *John Fordun* quotes for his *Chronica & alia Chronica*, *Groſſum Caput*, *Legenda Brandani*, *Legenda Congalli*, &c. and why may not theſe laſt be of as great authority as the firſt?

5°. THE main queſtion here, is of the ſtories of *Heremon*, ſon to *Mileſius*, and of *Simon Breac*, which of the two was the founder of the *Mileſian* monarchy in *Ireland*.

IT

IT is, in the firſt place, agreed on both ſides, that the *Scots* in *Britain* had originally their accounts of theſe high antiquities from the *Iriſh*: now if at the time, when they firſt received theſe ſtories from the *Iriſh*, it had been the common tradition of the bards that *Heremon* remained in *Ireland*, and was the firſt founder of the monarchy, there can no reaſonable motive be aſſigned why the *Scots*, having that tradition from the ancient *Iriſh*, ſhould have altered it, and held ſo poſitively, that *Heremon* returned back to *Spain*, and there ſucceeded his father *Mileſius*; and that the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Ireland* did not begin till about ſeven hundred years after *Heremon*; that *Simon Breac*, ſon of *Eondulf* king of the *Scots* in *Spain*, came to *Ireland*, and began the monarchy there. Whereas it is evident, that the *Iriſh*, and they alone, had intereſt to alter that tradition, and ſet up *Heremon* for the firſt king, and founder of the *Mileſian* kingdom in *Ireland*, in order to attribute to their monarchy about ſeven hundred years of antiquity, beyond what the firſt inventors of the ſtory had thought of, and to create the number of thirty-nine or forty new kings of *Ireland* before *Simon Breac*, whom the *Scots*, according to the accounts they had from the moſt ancient *Iriſh* ſeanachies, held for the firſt king of *Ireland* of the *Mileſian Iriſh* race.

BESIDES

BESIDES that, *Fordun* aſſures us, that he had this account from ancient chronicles, as I ſaid before, whom he quotes frequently for every particular ſtory of theſe high antiquities; as he does alſo verſes or rythms. We have a ſhort old (*a*) chronicle in *Latin* rythm, written about the time of king *Alexander* II. or III. above one hundred years before *Fordun*, which gives the ſame account of *Simon Breac*'s coming from *Spain* to *Ireland*, with the fatal ſtone, or marble chair, and of his being the firſt founder of the *Mileſian Scots* monarchy in *Ireland*, about one thouſand and two years after the *Egyptians* were drowned in the *Red Sea* in *Moſes*'s time; that is, about ſix hundred years only before the incarnation.

BUT what ſeems to confirm ſtill more the *Scotiſh* account, (if the more ancient writers may be depended upon) and that the *Scotiſh* tradition concerning the time of the firſt coming of the *Mileſian Scots* from *Spain* to *Ireland*, in order to ſettle, was the ancient tradition of the *Iriſh* themſelves: what ſeems to prove this beyond diſpute is, that *Nennius*, a writer of the ninth age, and by conſequence more ancient than *Pſaltar Caſhel*, or any writer that

(*a*) Poſt obitum regis Pharaonis mille duobus annis ut refert colo, &c. *Chron. Rythm. Scotor. in append. num.* 6, *cap.* 4.

the

the *Iriſh* have yet produced, (*a*) tells us in the firſt place, that he had his information from the *moſt learned among the* Scots, *peritiſſimi Scotorum*, (which if the *Iriſh*, as they uſe to do, interpret *the moſt learned of the* Iriſh, the proof will be the ſtronger.) *Nennius* then tells us from theſe vouchers, that the *Scots*, deſcended of *Scota*, *Pharoah*'s daughter, came to *Ireland* from *Spain* one thouſand and two years after the *Egyptians* were drowned in the *Red Sea*, that is, only about five or ſix hundred years before the incarnation; and by conſequence, their monarchy in *Ireland* cannot be more ancient.

THIS then was the conſtant belief both of *Scots* and *Iriſh* in thoſe days, that is, before the tenth age, when *Pſaltar Caſhel* is ſaid to have been written: and this account of *Nennius* agreeing entirely with the accounts given by the *Scots* in *Britain* of theſe high antiquities, and abſolutely contrary to thoſe of the modern *Iriſh*; ſhews that the *Scots* in *Britain* have carefully preſerved the firſt draughts of theſe high antiquities, made by the ancient bards or ſeanachies; and that the *Iriſh* ſeanachies and writers have alter'd them ſince the ninth or tenth age, in order to raiſe higher the

(*a*) .... Siquis voluerit ſcire quanto tempore fuit inhabitabilis & deſerta Hybernia, ſic mihi peritiſſimi Scotorum nuntiaverunt ... p. 101. ..... Et poſtea venerunt [*Scoti*] ad Hyberniam poſt mille duobus annis poſt merſionem Ægyptiorum in mari rubro, &c. *Nennius edit. Rog. Gale*, *c.* 9. *p.* 100.

beginning of the *Iriſh* monarchy, and to multiply their kings, by adding about forty ancient kings to their number.

AND by this it appears, that the modern *Iriſh* abettors of their high antiquities are obnoxious to the very ſame reproach that they make to the modern writers of *Scotland*, of having placed the beginning of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain* about ſeven hundred years before the true *Æra* of that monarchy, and of having added to the number of their kings in *Britain*, from *Fergus* I. till *Fergus* II.'s forty kings that had been unknown to more ancient writers. For by what we have ſaid, not only from the accounts of the high *Iriſh* antiquities preſerved by the *Scots*, but from thoſe of the beſt skilled among the ancient *Iriſh* in the ninth age; and by conſequence more ancient than any writer the *Iriſh* have as yet publiſhed in favour of them: from all this it appears, that the *Iriſh* in later ages have ſet up a long race of *Mileſian Scotiſh* kings in *Ireland*, amounting to the number of about forty, from *Heremon* till *Simon Breac*, all of them unknown to their more ancient and beſt skilled antiquaries, as we learn from *Nennius*, and pretended to have reigned above ſeven hundred years before the *Mileſian* monarchy was ſet up in *Ireland*. So we may juſtly conclude, that however faulty or fabulous the modern *Scotiſh* writers have been in anticipating the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and multiplying the number of their kings,

kings, they did not deſerve to be reproached and inſulted, at leaſt by thoſe of the modern *Iriſh* writers, who abet with no leſs confidence a ſcheme of remote antiquities, that ſeems no leſs incredible and groundleſs than thoſe of the modern *Scotiſh* writers.

HOWEVER by all that hath been ſaid in this article, it appears, that the remote antiquities of *Ireland* were not all invented or arranged at once, but grew up, with progreſs of time, to the height and order that we find them digeſted in *Flaherty*, and in their other modern writers; the firſt bards having brought them forth in a confuſed and ſhapeleſs maſs, ſuch as we find them in *Nennius*, and other ancient (*a*) writers; they were afterwards digeſted into a more regular form, with conſiderable alterations and additions: and in fine, by the care and induſtry of more poliſhed writers in after-ages, they were brought, by degrees, into a more tolerable conſiſtency, to render them credible, and cover their original deformity and palpable contradictions to all true ancient hiſtory, that would clearly appear, if they were expoſed to the eyes of the publick in their native original dreſs; towards hiding of which, nothing is of greater uſe than never to publiſh their pretended ancient original poems and bardiſh rythms whole and entire,

(*a*) See the preface to St. *Cadroe's* life, and that of St. *Abban*, in *Colgan's* lives of the ſaints.

but to content themſelves, as they have hitherto done, to refer to them in general, or to quote here and there a few paſſages or extracts as taken from them, but keep the entire originals ſtill from the ſight of the publick, ſo as the reader, however skilled, can never be able to make any fixed judgment of the age, or veracity of theſe [pretended original hiſtories or annals: but this deſerves to be conſidered apart.

ART. VII. *That the* Iriſh *ſhunning to publiſh their pretended ancient original hiſtories or chronicles, ſuch as they are, without addition or retrenchment, gives a juſt ground to ſuſpect the credit of them, and of the remote antiquities built upon them.*

WE are now no more in thoſe ages of ignorance and credulity, where detail'd accounts of tranſactions paſſed in the darkeſt and moſt remote antiquity, tho' ſupported only by confident aſſertions, that they were taken from unknown ancient writers or records, went eaſily down. Men have begun, long ſince, to meaſure their belief of remote antiquities, by the credit that the vouchers, on which they are grounded, have obtained, when, after being made publick, they have paſſed the examination of the learned: and all trifling and ſhifting to expoſe pretended ancient writers, whole and entire to ſuch a tryal, is much the ſame as to abandon them, and give them up, ſince it viſibly ſhews a diffidence that they cannot abide the teſt.

HENCE

HENCE a new objection againſt the credit of the pretended ancient writers of *Ireland*, and by conſequence againſt their remote antiquities, is drawn from this, that the abettors of theſe high antiquities perſevere to keep theſe pretended ancient monuments and documents of theſe antiquities from the eyes of the publick (whilſt they load it with ſo many other writings, pretended to be taken from them) by which they give ſome occaſion to ſuſpect that they are afraid, that if theſe writings of their bards, or poets, *&c.* were made publick, whole and entire ſuch as they are, they would be ſo far from finding any credit with unbiaſſed perſons, verſed in ancient hiſtory, that on the contrary they would loſe that ſmall credit, which the confident aſſertions of their abettors procure them, in hopes of their coming out at laſt to make good what they aſſert of them.

AND indeed it appears a very odd thing, as we have already obſerved; that tho' there is ſcarce a people in *Europe*, that pretends to have any knowledge or light of the ancient ſtate of their country, within many ages of the times of which the *Iriſh* pretend to give us chronological, genealogical, and detailed accounts of theirs; from ancient documents or monuments of hiſtory, which they aſſure us are ſtill in being; yet the *Iriſh* are the only people of all the nations in *Europe*, who have never as yet publiſhed ſo much as

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one entire copy of any one of theſe much boaſted of old MSS. of their civil hiſtory and antiquities, written by any author that lived before theſe laſt three hundred years; whilſt at the ſame time they have publiſhed in this and the laſt age above 20 volumes of diſſertations on pretended abſtracts of theſe ancient MSS. And whilſt all other nations have publiſhed all they could find of theirs, and continue daily to publiſh all they can diſcover, good or bad, of ancient monuments or documents of the hiſtory of their country: and by thus expoſing thoſe remains of their ancient hiſtory to the judgment of the learned world; and comparing them with the certain monuments of the ancient received hiſtories of the *Roman* empire, of thoſe of their own and neighbouring nations, they come to diſcern the genuine pieces from the ſpurious, and daily correct the errors and miſtakes which the ignorance and credulity of former ages had mix'd with their hiſtory: and by that means gain to it credit among the learned of other nations, and to themſelves the reputation of ſincere lovers of truth. It is upon this principle, and with this view that we have ſo many volumes of the *Engliſh* hiſtory publiſhed, under the title of *Scriptores Angliæ*; of the *French*, by the title of *Scriptores Francici*, or *Galliæ*; the *Scriptores Germaniæ*, and other northern nations, *Scriptores Italici*, &c. And as to the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, tho' moſt of their hiſtorical ancient monuments are periſh'd, by the accidents that we ſhall afterwards relate; what as yet remain

main are publiſhed; ſuch as the chronicles of *Maylroſs*, two editions of that of *Fordun*, the ſhort chronicle of *Edinburgh*: ſo that the *Iriſh* being the only nation of *Europe* that have publiſh'd none of their original ancient hiſtories, give the publick ground to ſuſpect that they themſelves diſtruſt their authority.

BUT whatever there may be of thoſe pretended ancient hiſtories or annals of *Ireland*, or *Iriſh* affairs, preceding the time of king *Leogaire*, in the fifth age; which Sir *James* (*a*) *Ware* tells us are *fabulous, or ſtrangely mix'd with fabulous narrations*: and therefore he thought fit, in his account of the kings of *Ireland*, to drop them, and begin the ſeries of the kings of *Ireland* no higher than from this *Leogaire*: at leaſt, as for that part of the general hiſtory of *Ireland* that concerns the tranſactions ſince the time of St. *Patrick*, as I doubt not but the writers of it may, according to their more or leſs antiquity, fidelity, and judiciouſneſs, be relied on, as well as the hiſtorians of like qualifications in other countries: ſo I cannot help renewing here the wiſhes which I made in the beginning of this chapter, that they would publiſh their more certain chronicles and annals; it being, as it appears to me, a very great overſight in them, and may prove very hurtful to the true hiſtory of the *Iriſh* nation; that this only certain part of it

(*a*) War. Antiq. Hybern. c. 4. p. 20.

is left ſo long in obſcurity, expoſed to all the accidents to which hiſtories, never yet publiſhed, are liable: ſo that there being but a few copies, and ſometimes one ſingle copy of them, they are frequently all at once irrecoverably loſt: it is a great overſight, that among ſo many able and well qualified men that country produceth, skilled in the *Iriſh* tongue, none of them hath hitherto publiſhed their original hiſtories, with faithful tranſlations, into *Latin*, that being the only ſure means to preſerve them to poſterity, and to give credit to the citations drawn from them.

SUCH among others, that ſeem moſt worthy of being publiſhed, are ſaid to be the chronicle of *Tigernach*, which Sir *James Ware* poſſeſſed, and is now in the duke of *Chandos*'s library, which is a very ancient MS. but ſeems not ſo entire as one that is often quoted by *Flaherty*; the annals of *Innisfall*, thoſe of *Ulſter (Ultonienſes)* ſo often mentioned in all the *Iriſh* writers; the ſynchroniſms of *Flannus* and others, giving an account of their hiſtory, from St. *Patrick* down to the invaſion of the *Engliſh* in the twelfth age, as they tell us. It were, no doubt, much for the honour and advantage of the *Iriſh* nation that theſe were made publick, thereby to hinder them from being loſt, by ſome ſuch accidents as they (*a*) inform us ſo many others of their hiſtorians periſhed in former ages.

(*a*) Colgan. præf. vit. MSS. Hyber.

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I have inſiſted ſo much the more upon this ſubject, that I am perſuaded that nothing could contribute more to the honour of the *Iriſh* nation in this critical age, than that ſome of their learned men would impartially conſider theſe difficulties and objections, and ſuch others as may be made againſt their remote antiquities; and either render publick ſuch vouchers of them as may bear the teſt of theſe times; or according to the example of ſo many other countries, who had in former ages ſet up for ſuch other high ſchemes of antiquity, drop them, and remove from their country the reproach of too great credulity: and inſtead of inſiſting on theſe uncertain accounts of ſo remote and dark ages, publiſh in a body of hiſtory, as other polite nations have done, and daily continue to do, the chronicles, and annals abovementioned, and others that ſtill remain, which may ſerve for a ſolid bottom to a true *hiſtory of Ireland*, ſince the fifth age, that would do honour to the nation.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

That ſuppoſing even the certainty or probability of the ancient ſettlement and monarchy of the Mileſians *in* Ireland, *or in general that of the* Iriſh *remote antiquities, yet it does not follow, that theſe* Mileſians *were properly* Scots; *but that on the contrary it ſeems certain, that the* Scots *were not ſettled in* Ireland *till about the time of the incarnation, or rather after it.*

BY all that we have ſaid in the precedent chapter, I hope it ſufficiently appears, that the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, that is, the coming in of the *Mileſian* colony to *Ireland* under *Heremon*, and their long ſucceſſion of kings after him, during the ſpace of twelve or thirteen hundred years before the incarnation, with the reſt of the ancient facts they relate, are deſtitute of all thoſe grounds and hiſtorical proofs proper to gain them credit with impartial competent judges of ancient and remote tranſactions of this nature; and by conſequence, that no certain proof can be drawn from them, of the *Mileſians*, as they call them, being ſettled in *Ireland* about twelve

twelve or thirteen ages, or indeed of their being ſettled there at all before the incarnation of Chriſt.

BUT now I add further, that giving and not granting, that thoſe remote antiquities, concerning the ancient ſettlement, monarchy, and ſucceſſion of the *Mileſian* race in general, were probable, (however uncertain they really are) the queſtion which I here examine would not for that be determined, but ſtill remain dubious, to wit, whether the people *properly called* Scots were ſettled in *Ireland* before the incarnation. I ſay the people *properly called* Scots, by whom I mean the predeceſſors of thoſe *Scots* whoſe name appears in hiſtory for the firſt time (as we ſhall ſhew) in the third or fourth age of chriſtianity; who coming to *Britain* generally from *Ireland*, and joining with the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, made war againſt the *Romans* and provincials in *Britain* in the fourth and fifth age: in a word, I mean thoſe *Scots* of whom the *Scots* in *Britain* are deſcended and took their name.

FOR it might poſſibly have happened, that the *Mileſian* race had ſettled in *Ireland*, as the modern *Iriſh* tells us, twelve or thirteen ages before the incarnation; and that there had been a ſucceſſion of kings of that race, from *Heremon* downwards, (as no doubt there were moſt ancient inhabitants, and human kings too in *Ireland*, of old, as elſewhere;) and yet that none of all theſe have been properly

properly *Scots*, nor the *Scots* as yet ſettled in *Ireland*, but that they came only into it long afterwards, about or after the birth of Chriſt; and that in a body of men accuſtomed to war, ſo as to have rendered themſelves maſters of moſt part of the country, (as we ſee ſo many other nations invaded other countries in the third, fourth, and following ages after the incarnation) to have ſubdued the ancient inhabitants, overturned their government, and ſet up a new one; ſo that the chief leaders of this new people became the firſt kings of the *Scotiſh* race in *Ireland*, and their deſcendants ſucceeded and reigned after them, whilſt their chief commanders under them became the governing party, and brought moſt part of the ancient inhabitants, by degres, under ſubjection. Thus the *Francs* invaded the *Gauls*; [the *Goths* and *Sweves* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Spain*; the *Vandals* became maſters of *Africk*, the *Saxons* of the ſouth of *Britain*.

THAT the *Scots* were not the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland* ſettled there about twelve or thirteen ages before the birth of Chriſt, but were a foreign new people, who after, or about the times of the incarnation, came in upon the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, and rendered themſelves, by degrees, maſters of them, in the ſame manner as the *Francs*, the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, and other foreign people came in upon, and ſubdued ſeveral provinces of the *Roman* empire, and by degrees incor-

incorporated themſelves with them: that this was the caſe of the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, is what I conceive may be ſhewn by ſuch arguments, as conſidering the darkneſs we are in, for want of ancient hiſtorians, will ſuffice to render it at leaſt highly probable, if not abſolutely certain.

THERE are in general only two kind of proofs or arguments, by which the coming in of a new people in paſt ages upon the ancient inhabitants of a country, and the revolution happening upon it, can be made out. The one is the teſtimony of contemporary, or ancient writers: the other is drawn from the effects that naturally follow upon ſuch an invaſion and revolution.

As to the firſt kind of arguments, it ſuppoſes neceſſarily, that there are extant contemporary, or ancient writers, near the times of ſuch a revolution: ſuch teſtimonies we have from *Gildas*, *Beda*, and other ancient hiſtorians, domeſtick and foreign, of the *Saxons* invading the ſouth of *Britain*: ſuch alſo we have from the *Roman* writers, from *Gregory* of *Tours*, and other ancient monuments, of the *Francs* invading the *Gauls* in the fifth age.

WERE there extant any ancient received writers, foreign or domeſtick, near the times of the incarnation, that contained either the hiſtory of *Ireland*,

Ireland, or at leaſt gave us accounts of the ſtate and inhabitants of it, and revolutions that happened in it in theſe early times; we might then expect to find, as I doubt not but we ſhould, ſuch direct proofs of the *Scots* coming into *Ireland*, as we have of the coming in of the *Francs* to the *Gauls*. But by what we have ſaid in the preceding chapter, it appears, there is not extant any certain *domeſtick* hiſtory of *Ireland* in thoſe early times, nor for any thing that hath yet appeared, till at leaſt eight or nine ages, (if even then) after the incarnation, nor any certain account of the tranſactions of *Ireland*, nor any certain proof that they had even the uſe of letters in *Ireland*, till the fifth age, when they received chriſtianity.

THE moſt ancient pieces we have now extant, believed to be written in *Ireland*, are the confeſſion or apology of St. *Patrick* their apoſtle, and his letter to *Coroticus*; both publiſhed firſt by *Waræus*, from ſeveral very ancient MSS. and again by *Bollandus*; and they are quoted by the moſt ancient writers of the ſaint's life; as they are alſo by *Uſher*, *Colgan*; and are generally eſteemed by the learned as genuine: among others by the judicious hiſtorian M. *de Tillemont*, in his church-hiſtory, where he prefers them to all that hath been written of St. *Patrick*, and makes them the foundation of the hiſtory of that ſaint. All this renders indeed thoſe pieces very valuable, and they

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furniſh us with ſome light on the ſtate of *Ireland* in the fifth age, when they were written; but all they contain, is ſome account of that ſaint's life, and labours in planting the goſpel in *Ireland*, and of the people to whom he preached: but nothing of the hiſtory of *Ireland* in former ages.

As to foreign writers, none of them before the ſeventh or eighth age after the incarnation, gives us any diſtinct account of what paſſed in *Ireland*; and the little they have of it, proves rather that the *Scots* were not there in ancient times, ſince they are never mentioned till the third or fourth age among the inhabitants of it, as we ſhall preſently ſhew.

From all this it clearly follows, that the firſt kind of proof, drawn from the teſtimonies of ancient writers, domeſtick or foreign, ought not to be expected towards fixing the time of the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, or the finding out whether the *Scots* were the ancient inhabitants of it, or not.

But there is a ſecond kind of proof or argument, drawn from the uſual effects with which ſuch a revolution, as the coming in of a new and foreign people upon ancient inhabitants, would be naturally followed; and this kind of proof, as it is the only one by which a fact of this kind, in a

country

country ſo deſtitute of all ancient hiſtorians as *Ireland*, can be cleared; ſo I conceive that it can be made out by proofs of this nature, ſufficient to ſatisfy all impartial judges, that the *Scots* were not the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, and in poſſeſſion of it twelve or thirteen ages, or indeed before the incarnation at all; but were a new foreign people, who about, or rather after, the birth of Chriſt, came to *Ireland* as conquerors, and rendered themſelves maſters of it, in the ſame manner as the *Francs* came in afterwards on the *Gauls*, and as other foreign nations invaded and ſubdued other provinces.

To apply this proof to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, we need only obſerve the marks and characters which the earlieſt or ſureſt writers, or other ancient monuments furniſh us with, of the *Scots* at their firſt appearance in hiſtory, and in the times immediately following their being firſt mentioned in *Ireland* and *Britain*; and compare theſe marks with the firſt appearances and beginnings of other conquering nations, in the ſeveral countries which they invaded, and in which they ſettled; and in particular with the *Francs* ſettling amongſt the *Gauls*, becauſe we have a more diſtinct account of them: and we ſhall ſee the ſame marks and characters of the *Scots* being not the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, but a new and foreign people come into it about the firſt ages of chriſti-

anity,

unity, as appear in the *Francs*, in the beginning of their ſettlement among the *Gauls*.

1°. THO' we had no diſtinct account from undoubted hiſtory and records, that the ſettlement of the *Francs* in *Gaul* was in the fourth or fifth age, yet it would be ſufficiently evident, that their ſettlement was no ſooner, by this, that we never meet, in any ancient hiſtory or record, with any people, ſettled amongſt the *Gauls* before the fourth or fifth age, called by the name of *Francs*; and that ſince the fifth and ſixth age, all writers make mention of the *Francs* as inhabitants of *Gaul*. In like manner, tho' we have no ancient hiſtory that gives us a diſtinct account of the *Scots* coming into *Ireland*, and ſettling there only in the firſt ages of chriſtianity; yet it appears an undoubted proof, that the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* can be placed no earlier than the time of the incarnation, or after it; that the name of *Scots* was never heard of in *Ireland*, or indeed at all, till the third or fourth age after Chriſt; and that they are ever afterwards mentioned as inhabitants of *Ireland*, or of the north of *Britain*.

ALL ancient writers, before the third or fourth age, of whatever country, never called the inhabitants of *Ireland* but *Hyberni*, *Hyberionæ*, &c. and what is moſt remarkable, *Ptolomy* the geographer, in the firſt or ſecond age, tho' he names about twenty different people inhabitants of *Ireland*, never mentions

the *Scots* among them, nor indeed at all. And as for the country of *Ireland*, I never find it called by any writer, before the ſeventh age, but *Hybernia*, *Ierne*, *Iris*, *Britannia minor*; and the name of *Scots* is never once heard of, or mentioned by any writer before the third age, as biſhop *Uſher* grants. I might add, that we do not find the name of *Scots* in any writer now extant, before *Ammian Marcellin* in the fourth age, tho', I doubt not, but the name is more ancient, and may have been mentioned in writers that are now loſt.

BUT as to the paſſages of the pretended *Bengorion* and *Egeſippus*, quoted by *Uſher*, both *Uſher* himſelf, and all good criticks, agree that they are paſſages of authors much poſterior to the times in which thoſe writers lived. And as to the paſſage, *Scoticæ gentes*, &c. cited by the ſame *Uſher*, from St. *Jerome*, as being taken from *Porphyrius*, (tho' even allowing it, it would not reach beyond the end of the third age) this paſſage is not of *Porphyrius*, but St. *Jerome*'s own, in his letter to *Cteſiphont*, written only after the year 412. That this paſſage is not *Porphyrius*'s, but St. *Jerome*'s own; the epithet he gives there to *Britannia*, of *fertilis provincia tyrannorum*, ſeems to demonſtrate. For when *Porphyrius*, about *A. D.* 267, wrote the book againſt the chriſtian religion, to which St. *Jerome* alludes in that paſſage, there had ſcarce till then appeared from *Britain* any conſiderable tyrant, or uſurper againſt

againſt the empire; whereas, betwixt that year 267 and 412, when St. *Jerome* wrote that letter to *Cteſiphont*, there had riſen in *Britain* no leſs than ſeven tyrants or uſurpers; to wit, *Carauſius*, *Alectus*, *Maximus*, *Marcus*, *Gratian*, *Conſtantin*, and *Gerontius*; theſe four laſt one after another, a few years before St. *Jerome* wrote, which made him call *Britannia* deſervedly fertile of tyrants or uſurpers: ſo it appears, that this paſſage is St. *Jerome*'s own, and not of *Porphyrius*, and of conſequence written after *A. D.* 412.

THE firſt time then that we find the *Scots* mentioned in any ancient author yet known, is in *Ammian Marcellin*, towards the latter end of the fourth age. All former writers that we can find, who mention *Ireland*, or its inhabitants, never call them but *Hyberni*, and the country *Hybernia*, *Iris*, &c. and never once mention the *Scoti* among its inhabitants: ſuch are *Cæſar*, *Diodor* the *Sicilian*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolomy*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*. All theſe and other writers, who ſpeak of *Ireland*, ſome of them give a ſhort deſcription of it, and the names of its inhabitants; but none of them ever mentions the *Scots*. And this univerſal ſilence of all writers, before the fourth age, that ſpoke of *Ireland*, ſeems a ſufficient proof alone, that the *Scots* were not of a much older ſettlement there; eſpecially when it's conſidered, that all thoſe that ſpeak of *Ireland* after the fourth age, never fail to mention the *Scots* as inhabitants of it: ſuch are next

to *Ammian*, *Claudian*, St. *Jerome*, *Oroſius*, *Gildas*, and others in the fifth and ſixth ages.

2°. THE *Francs*, before their firſt ſettlement amongſt the *Gauls*, appear in hiſtory as a people unſettled, roving up and down, and ſeeking fixed habitations, for about two hundred years before *Clovis*, who gave the firſt form to their monarchy, and gave them a fixed eſtabliſhment amongſt the *Gauls*: ſo alſo the firſt account that *Ammian* gives of the *Scots*, is as of an unſettled people at leaſt in *Britain* (*a*): *Scoti per diverſa vagantes.*

3°. UPON the ſettlement of the *Francs* among the *Gauls*, two people appear thenceforth in hiſtory as the mixed inhabitants of the ſame country, the *Galli* and the *Franci*: the firſt as the ancient; the ſecond as new inhabitants, not heard of before. In like manner in *Ireland*, in the fourth and fifth age, two ſorts of people appear as the mixed inhabitants of that iſland, the *Hyberni* and the *Scoti*: the firſt as the ancient inhabitants known in all ages before; the ſecond, to wit, the *Scoti*, appear on a ſudden as a new people, never heard of in *Ireland* till then.

4°. THOUGH the *Galli* and *Franci* appear as mixed inhabitants of *Gaul*, yet in the firſt ages after the ſettlement of the *Franci*, they are diſtin-

(*a*) Ammian. lib. 27.

guiſhed

guiſhed from the *Galli* by their qualities as well as by their name. The *Franci*, as being maſters, or conquerors, or the military men, appear as the nobility and gentry; whereas the *Galli*, or Gauls, the ancient inhabitants, appear as the *Coloni*, or Commons, as being ſubject to the former: of all which, the learned *M. Du* (*a*) *Cange*, who makes this obſervation, gives us many proofs from ancient records. So after the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, though the *Scoti* and *Hyberni* appear in the fifth age as common inhabitants of that Iſland, yet they appear diſtinguiſhed by their qualities as well as by their names. The *Scoti*, as being the conquerors, maſters and military men, appear as the nobility or gentry, in the confeſſion or apology of St. *Patrick*, (written by him (*b*) in the fifth age, and ſo the ancienteſt piece we have written in *Ireland*) *Filii* (*c*) *Scotorum & filiæ Regulorum*; which he repeats over again in his letter to *Coroticus*, joining, in both places, the *Scotti* and *Reguli* as being ſynonimous equivalent terms; and again, *Una benedicta Scota nobilis*, &c. adding generally to the name *Scottus*, that of *Reguli*, or *Nobilis*: whereas he never calls the native *Iriſh* in thoſe pieces, but *Hyberionæ*, or *Hybernigenæ*, as being the commons and ordinary people.

(*a*) Du Cange Gloſſar. to 2. col. 522, &c. ad vocem

(*b*) Ub. ſupr. pag.

(*c*) Confeſſio S. Patricii apud Bolland. ad 17. mart. n. 18. epiſt. ad Coroticum n. 6.

M. de Tillemont (*a*), in his Life of St. *Patrick*, takes notice of this diſtinction, after *F. Bollandus* (*b*).

5°. THE Inhabitants of *Gaul*, before the *Francs* ſettled among them, lived moſt part quietly under the empire, except when forced to take arms againſt the many barbarous nations that over-run them, or when they were obliged to take part in the ſchiſms or diviſions of the empire; and we do not read, that in thoſe times the *Gauls*, of themſelves, took up arms out of ambition to invade or conquer their neighbour countries: but no ſooner had the new nation of the *Francs* ſettled among them, but we find them every year in a warlike poſture, ready to invade the neighbouring provinces, and enlarge their dominions.

IN like manner we have no certain account, that the old inhabitants of *Ireland* uſed, in ancient times, to come over and invade the *Britains*, before the coming in of the *Scots* to *Ireland*; and it appears, by what *Tacitus* (*c*) writes from his father-in-law *Agricola*'s relation of them in *Domitian*'s time, that they were little accuſtomed to the uſe of arms, and ſo far from making inroads on the *Britains* of the north, or *Caledonians*, that the *Iriſh* were much inferior to them in military valor; ſince *Tacitus* tells us, that *Agricola* had often aſſerted to him, that with one legion, and a few auxiliary troops, *Ireland* might have been conquered

(*a*) Tillemont, hiſt. eccleſ. to 16. p. 453.
(*b*) Boland. ubi ſupra.
(*c*) Tacit. Vit. Agric. f. 233. n. 24.

quered and poſſeſſed: whereas we ſe
book of *Tacitus*, that the *Caled*
diſpute their ground with a powerful army
Romans, ſupported by auxiliaries, and commanded by ſo able a general as *Agricola*. So that in all appearance, in thoſe ancient times, the *Iriſh* were accuſtomed to no foreign wars, nor had any ambition to make invaſions or conqueſts without themſelves. *Eumenius* ſeems indeed to ſuppoſe, that the *Britains* had wars with the *Iriſh*, as well as with the *Picts*; but he doth not tell us, whether the *Britains* made inroads on the *Iriſh* in their own country, or the *Iriſh* came over to invade the *Britains*.

BUT at the very firſt appearance of the name of *Scots* in hiſtory, we find them in arms, come over in warlike expeditions to *Britain*, joined with the *Picts*, invading the *Roman* empire, over-running the provincials, and giving work enough to the *Roman* legions; inſpiring the ſame warlike temper into the old *Iriſh*, till, by degrees, the ſtrength of the *Scots* came over and ſettled in *North-Britain*, where they continued ever after in the ſame warlike temper; and being by degrees united into one people with the *Picts* of the *Caledonian* blood, gain ground upon the *Saxons*, maintain their country againſt the *Danes*, who had vanquiſh'd the *Saxons*, and for many ages (except when divided among themſelves) defend

their country and liberty, againſt the united force of their powerful neighbours.

6°. THE country of the *Gauls* retained ſtill the old name of *Gallia*, and it alone, for a conſiderable time after the *Francs* had ſettled, and were generally maſters of it: and it was only afterwards, and by degrees, that the kingdom of the *Francs*, amongſt the *Gauls*, was called by the new name of *Francia*, from theſe new inhabitants. St. *Gregory the Great*, about the end of the ſixth age, is believed to be the firſt that gives to *Gaul*, or rather the kingdom of the *Francs* amongſt the *Gauls*, this new name of *Francia*: but after him, *Gaul*, at leaſt the kingdom of the *Francs* there, is indifferently called *Gallia* or *Francia*, from the new and old inhabitants. In like manner, (and this appears to me a deciſive argument for what I am here proving) *Ireland* retained ſtill the old name of *Hybernia*, or *Ierne*, in all writers, long after the *Scots* were ſettled there, as we ſee by *Oroſius*, *Claudian*, and other writers of the fifth and ſixth age; who, whilſt they call the inhabitants indifferently *Scotti* or *Hyberni*, never call the country but *Hybernia*, *Ierne*, &c. And it was only by degrees that it got the new name of *Scotia*, from the new inhabitants the *Scots*, but ſtill retained the old name of *Hybernia*.

St. *LAURENCE*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the beginning of the ſeventh age, is the firſt that I find

I find who gives to *Ireland* the name of *Scotia*, in his letter mentioned by *Bede* (*a*) to the biſhops and clergy of that kingdom. After him *Iſidore*, in the ſame age, and *Adamnan* in St. *Columba*'s life; and from thenceforth it is called, for ſome ages, indifferently *Hybernia* or *Scotia*, as *Synonymous* names from the old and new inhabitants; till at laſt it quite loſt the name of *Scotia*, which followed the *Scots* into *Britain*, and was by degrees wholly appropriated to the kingdom of the *Scots*, in the north of that iſland.

NOW I would willingly ask, wherefore *Ireland* ſhould have taken, in the ſixth or ſeventh age, the new name of *Scotia*, never heard of before, unleſs it was from a new people of that name ſettled among them? ſince we ſee, in all hiſtories and countries, that the ordinary occaſion or cauſe of all other countries taking a new name, was from new inhabitants ſettling in them. Thus the *Gauls* took the name of *Francia*; a part of *South Gaul*, that of *Gothia*; other parts thoſe of *Burgundia*, *Normannia*, &c. *South Britain*, thoſe of *Saxonia* and *Anglia*; a part of *Italy*, *Longobardia*, and the northern parts of *Britain*, the name of *Scotia*: all of them from new inhabitants bearing thoſe names. In fine, the *Iriſh* writers make uſe of this as an argument to prove (*b*) that the *Scots*

(*a*) Bed. lib. 2. c. 4.

(*b*) Uſſer. Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquit. p. 380, 381, 382, &c.

in

in *Britain* were of much later ſtanding there than the modern *Scotiſh* hiſtorians will have them; that the name of *Scotia* is not given to *Scotland*, or the north of *Britain*, but in later ages.

AND now to conclude. By all I have ſaid in this chapter, I hope it ſufficiently appears that the *Scots*, properly ſo called, are not originally the ſame race of people with the firſt and ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, but a diſtinct people that came into *Ireland* only after the time of the incarnation; ſince they bear ſo viſibly, in the fourth age, as much the ſame character of new inhabitants of *Ireland*, as the *Franks*, or any other of the many conquering nations of theſe ages, bear the character of new inhabitants in the ſeveral countries which they invaded, and poſſeſſed themſelves of.

As to the objections that may be made againſt what is here proved, that the *Scots* were a new and foreign people that came into *Ireland* only ſince the incarnation, and were not the ancient inhabitants of that iſland; theſe objections may be reduced to two heads, to wit, 1°. Thoſe drawn from the pretended ancient MSS. monuments of the hiſtory of *Ireland*; ſuch as are ſaid to be the book of *Tara*, *Pſalter Caſhel*, their poets, bards, and other domeſtick writers. 2°. Thoſe taken from *Britiſh* or other foreign writers, which (*a*) has been mentioned already, as being no leſs favour-

(*a*) Supra, ſect. 1. c. 2. p. 184.

able

able to the high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, than to thoſe of the *Mileſians* in *Ireland*.

As to the firſt, to wit, the pretended ancient *Iriſh* hiſtories, we have treated of them at full length in the former chapter; and by expoſing the difficulties and objections made againſt them, have ſhewn how little they are to be relied upon, or rather how groundleſs they are in all that they relate of what paſt in *Ireland*, eſpecially before the time of the incarnation.

I eaſily foreſee, that one of the greateſt objections that can be made againſt what hath been proved in this chapter, by thoſe writers that are ſtill attached to the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, will be drawn from their genealogies; which, as they are ſet down by *Keating*, *O Flaherty*, Dr. *Kenedy*, &c. are carried up from king *Loegaire*, in St. *Patrick*'s time, to *Heremon*, ſon to *Mileſius*; and thence up to *Noah* and *Adam*.

BUT I deſire, in the firſt place, that it be conſidered, that the pretended ancient genealogies of *Ireland* were not grounded and proved, as thoſe of modern times, by any publick or private acts or documents: for as to the committee of nine, and the other pretended regulations upon theſe matters, attributed to ſome of their ancient kings and parliaments, or aſſemblies of *Tara*, all theſe muſt ſtill remain as dubious, and as likely to have been the fabrick of more modern ages, as the genealogies

gies themſelves, and the reſt of the detailed accounts of their other remote antiquities, till ſuch credible documents of them appear, as have never yet been publiſhed. And in particular, that their genealogies were not invented till they had the knowledge of the holy ſcriptures, (after the goſpel was preached in *Ireland*) appears by their carrying them up to *Noah* and *Adam*.

2°. THAT all the credit of theſe genealogies depended wholly upon that of the bards or ſeanachies, whoſe character we have ſeen: now when once theſe genealogies paſſed the memory of the preſent age, or a part of the former, that is, five or ſix generations, they could neither be proved true, nor diſproved, or convinced of forgery; for theſe genealogies conſiſting barely of ſingle names, joined together by the word *Mac*, without any proof, the drawing them up required no more skill than to collect names already in uſe, or invent new ones, ſufficient in number to carry up the genealogy of the perſon, whom they intended to gratify, from his father or grandfather, or ſuch of his predeceſſors whoſe names were as yet recent in the memory of men, till former ages, when no body could contradict; and ſo upwards, till they grafted the name at laſt on ſome branch of the genealogies already compoſed, (in caſe any ſuch were) which led up to *Mileſius*; whence, by former bards, the degrees were carried up to *Noah*

Noah. There was in our own time a *Scotiſh* gentleman, of an ancient family, (*Urquhart* of *Cromarty*) who took a fancy to draw up his pedigree, from age to age, up to *Noah* and *Adam*, and cauſed it to be printed by the title of *Pantochronocanon*; (*a*) or, *Pedigree of the name of* Urquhart *of* Cromarty, *from the creation of the world, until the preſent year of Chriſt* 1652. I have ſeen the book, with many others, uſeful to this work, by the favour of the honourable *Archibald Campbel*, in his curious collection of rare books.

Now it could not fail, but the firſt bards or ſeanachies that invented the *Iriſh* genealogies, being ignorant of letters, and more yet of chronology, would naturally exceed in the number of degrees or deſcents, having no certain rule by which they could govern themſelves; and ſo it happened: when afterwards there aroſe among them bards or ſeanachies that had ſome knowedge of hiſtory or chronology, they found themſelves obliged to make conſiderable retrenchments of the number and names of their genealogies, and ſo by degrees reduced them; till at laſt M. *O Flaherty*, one of the moſt learned of their modern writers, comparing them with the ſcripture-genealogies, makes a new reformation of them, and cuts off a number of them to make them agree with the

(*a*) *London*, printed for *Rich. Baddely*, within the *Middle-Temple*, A. D. 1652.

longeſt

longeſt genealogy ſet down by St. *Luke*, as we have elſewhere obſerved (*a*).

As to the ſecond kind of objections, that is, thoſe taken from the *Britiſh* hiſtorians, the only objections worth the taking notice of, are thoſe that may be drawn from *Bede*, or *Nennius*; and firſt as to *Bede*, (*b*) he ſuppoſes indeed that the *Picts* found the *Scots* in *Ireland*, when they, the *Picts*, firſt came into *Britain*, which was certainly, as hath been ſhewn (*c*) elſewhere, long before the time of the incarnation. But 1°. it is to be obſerved, that *Bede* in that ſame place ſeems equally to ſuppoſe, that the *Scots* came before *Julius Cæſar*'s time, or at leaſt before the *Romans* were well eſtabliſhed, from *Ireland* to *Britain*; ſo that none of theſe learned criticks, and eſpecially the *Iriſh*, who reject the early ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, notwithſtanding of the authority of *Bede*, can preſs his authority for the early ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, from his mentioning of the *Scots* in that Iſland, when the *Picts* came in. 2°. It appears by *Bede*'s never mentioning the *Caledonians*, but calling the northern inhabitants of *Britain* by the name of *Picts*, at their firſt entry to the iſland, that he took his accounts of the ancient inhabitants of the *North* of *Britain*, and of *Ireland*, rather from the relation of

(*a*) Supra pag. 486.
(*b*) Bed. l. 1. c. 1.
(*c*) Supra Book I. chap. 3. art. 1.

thoſe

thoſe of his own time, than from ancient monuments of hiſtory; hence he calls the moſt ancient inhabitants by the ſame names that they bore in his own time. Thus with him, the firſt inhabitants of the *Northern* parts of *Britain* are called *Picti*; ſo likewiſe the inhabitants of *Ireland*, called ſometimes *Scoti* in *Bede*'s time, are called *Scoti* by him at the firſt entry of the *Picts* to *Britain*.

3°. It may have happened, that the ſtories of the *Iriſh* ſeanachies, concerning the early coming in of the *Scots* to *Ireland* before the time of the incarnation, were already begun to be broached, and perhaps ſpread and believed by ſeveral among the *Iriſh* and *Scots*, in *Bede*'s time, that is, in the eighth age; ſo no wonder if *Bede*, who took his accounts of *Ireland* from the *Iriſh*, or from the *Scots* with whom he converſed, believed upon their telling him ſo, that the *Scots* were already inhabitants of *Ireland* and *Scotland* before *Julius Cæſar*'s time, or rather, before the *Romans* were fully eſtabliſhed in *Britain*.

What may have probably given occaſion to the firſt broaching thoſe ſtories of the early ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* by the bards, and to their gaining credit among the *Iriſh* and *Scots*, was, that the *Scots* coming into *Ireland* in a body of men accuſtomed to war, and rendring themſelves, by degrees, maſters of the ancient inhabitants, as the *Francs* did of a part of the *Gauls*; the *Scots* became ſoon the governing party in *Ireland*

land, and by the third or fourth age were become the leading men, and poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty and chief places of power, and by conſequence had the diſpenſation of all favours and rewards; and that alone was a ſtrong temptation to ſuch men as were the bards, accuſtomed to flatter and cry up all that came to be in power, and able to reward them, to aſcribe to the leading men among the *Scots*, ancient genealogies and far fetched pedigrees, or to graft them on the genealogies of the ancient inhabitants, in caſe any ſuch were already contrived: and this was the more eaſy to ſucceed, and obtain credit in ſuch ignorant times, that after four or five ages of ſettlement in *Ireland*, and twelve or fifteen generations, the time of the coming in of the *Scots* was begun to be forgotten, and they to be looked upon as ancient inhabitants: beſides that, the *Scots* were, by that time, ſo intermixed as one body of people with the ancient natives, that what belonged to theſe laſt, was more eaſily and imperceptibly attributed to the *Scots*. There are but too many examples of fabulous ſtories and inventions creeping into hiſtory, and gaining, in leſs time, an almoſt univerſal credit in countries and ages much more poliſhed than *Ireland* was in thoſe times.

WHAT we have ſaid here may alſo, in a great meaſure, ſerve to anſwer another ſpecious objection againſt the *Scots* firſt coming into *Ireland*, only about, or after the times of the incarnation: this

this objection is drawn from what hath been elſewhere (*a*) obſerved, of the order in which (*b*) *Bede* ſeems to place or rank the firſt ſettlement or coming in of the ancient inhabitants of *Britain:* firſt the *Britains*, next the *Picts*, in the third place the *Scots*; and after mentioning of the *Scots*, he ſpeaks of the *Romans* coming in; and laſt of all of the *Saxons*. By this it would appear, that in *Bede*'s opinion the *Scots* came in to *Britain* before the *Romans*; and that by conſequence, they muſt have been ſettled in *Ireland* ſome time before, ſince it is ſuppoſed that the *Scots* came at firſt into *Britain*, immediately from that iſland.

THIS indeed would appear to have been *Bede*'s opinion; and it proves very well, that the *Scots* were eſteemed, in *Bede*'s time, to have been ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, and not lately come into it, in the fifth or ſixth ages, as ſome *Engliſh* writers pretend: for there's no appearance, that *Bede* could have attributed ſo ancient a ſettlement to a people, who had been but about two hundred years in the iſland; ſince beſides that by the fifth age, they had the uſe of letters, and by conſequence their accounts of themſelves might be more certain, the bare tradition, from father to ſon, of their coming into *Britain* in the fifth or ſixth age, would be as yet ſo freſh in the memory of men of the ſeventh and beginning of the

(*a*) Supra, p. 195.
(*b*) Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

eighth age, (when *Bede* wrote his hiſtory) that it ſeems not poſſible, that he could have been miſinformed, or ſo groſly miſtaken, as to ſuppoſe they came in above ſeven hundred years before.

BUT we muſt reaſon very differently upon ſuppoſition of the *Scots* coming in from *Ireland* to *Britain*, four or five hundred years before *Bede* wrote his hiſtory; that is, about the beginning of the third age of chriſtianity, (which we ſhall have occaſion elſewhere to examine) and that they came in by degrees, and in times, when the uſe of letters was not yet received, either in the northern parts of *Britain*, or in *Ireland*; where, by conſequence, all the knowledge of paſt tranſactions depended on the credit of their bards. In this ſuppoſition, the queſtion being about an antiquity of ſettlement or poſſeſſion, (which all nations, the more they are ignorant, endeavour to carry the higher, and to over-reach their neighbours) it was no hard matter for their bards to have advanced two or three ages, the firſt coming in of the *Scots* to *Britain*, and to have introduced among them, before *Bede* wrote his hiſtory, the opinion of their being come over to *Britain* before the time that the *Romans* entered it.

THIS ſeems ſo much the more likely, that the bards in *Ireland* having begun before *Bede*'s time, to raiſe the ſettlement of the *Scots* in that iſland to a much higher antiquity than it was in effect,

the

the bards among the *Scots* in *Britain*, being men of the ſame genius, could ſcarce fail to imitate thoſe of *Ireland*, and to carry up the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* to more ancient times; and the later end of the ſixth age, or beginning of the ſeventh, was a proper time for that, when the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, eſpecially during king *Aidan*'s reign, had begun to make a more conſiderable figure in the iſland.

AND it would appear, that this advancing the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* was ſo much the more eaſy to be done, that they came not over at firſt in great bodies of men, but in ſmall numbers, inſenſibly, and by degrees; firſt to the neareſt iſlands, and thence, as their number increaſed, to the weſtern coaſts of the main-land of *Britain*, which the *Caledonians* or *Picts* yielded with leſs difficulty to them, in order to have them for auxiliaries in their wars with the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*.

THUS the time of the firſt coming of the *Scots* to *Britain*, not being remarkable by any conſiderable event or revolution, it was the ſooner forgotten: ſo that after nine or ten generations had paſſed in ſo dark ages, when there was no learning in thoſe parts, nor any records kept of paſt tranſactions, it was certainly much more eaſy for the bards of thoſe times to raiſe the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* to a much higher antiquity

tiquity, than it was in effect for poſterior writers of the fifteenth or ſixteenth age, in times of light and learning, to multiply their kings of the *Scotiſh* line, and to impoſe upon the nation, ſo as to have it received, and generally believed, a new ſcheme of antiquities, detailed into particular facts, with a new genealogy, and a new ſeries of ancient kings; as we have already proved that it happened.

And if an emulation, not to be behind in the antiquity of monarchy with the kings of *England*, particularly with king *Edward* I. who valued himſelf upon an ancient ſucceſſion of kings in the *Britiſh* race, down from *Brutus*, *Locrinus*, &c. contributed not a little, as it will afterwards appear, to raiſe in the *Scots*, in the beginning of the fourteenth age, the firſt notions of ancient kings of the *Scotiſh* line, before the times of the incarnation; it is very likely, that the like emulation with the *Picts*, or a view not to be inferior to them in ſo honourable a privilege, as that of an ancient eſtabliſhment, or ancient poſſeſſion, gave occaſion to the *Scotiſh* bards, about the ſeventh age, to advance the antiquity of the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* beyond the time of the incarnation. That this emulation, or vying with the *Picts* contributed to it, is the more likely, that, as we have elſewhere (*a*) obſerved, the *Scots*

(*a*) Supra, p. 125, 126, &c.

at

at laſt, after they came to be maſters of the *Pictiſh* kingdom, carried this emulation ſo far, as to pretend to have been eſtabliſhed in *Britain* as early as, or even before the *Picts* themſelves.

NOW ſuppoſing that the ſettlement of the *Scots*, both in *Ireland* and in *Britain*, had been thus advanced by the bards of each country to more ancient times before *Bede* wrote his hiſtory in the eighth age, there is no doubt but what he relates, of the *Scots* coming to *Britain* before the *Romans* entered it, was upon the information of ſome of the natives that gave credit to thoſe new ſchemes of the bards.

I know ſome of the learned among the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* writers, give a different interpretation to this paſſage of the firſt chapter of *Bede*'s hiſtory, and pretend that the *Scots* coming into *Britain* before the *Romans* doth not follow from it; and ſo it is no wiſe contrary to what I have endeavoured to prove in this chapter, to wit, that the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* was not before the time of the incarnation. But I cannot help thinking that the interpretation, that theſe learned writers put upon *Bede*'s paſſage, ſeems forced; and have therefore choſen rather to endeavour to find out, by probable conjectures, the true occaſion of *Bede*'s advancing this paradox, than to elude the difficulty by an evaſion.

As for the paſſages of *Nennius* the *Britiſh* writer, which ſeem to favour the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, and which we have elſewhere ſet (*a*) down, it is evident by *Nennius*, that theſe remote antiquities were already begun to be hatched by the bards before his time; but as yet only in a confuſed maſs, very different from the more regular order into which they were afterwards digeſted by more skilful hands. Nor were the inventions of the bards in *Nennius*'s time, that is, in the ninth age, raiſed as yet to that height of antiquity by many hundred years, to which the fertile genius of the ſeanachies have, in poſterior ages, advanced them.

FOR, according to the reckoning of *Nennius*, who informs us that he had his accounts from the moſt learned of the *Scots* or *Iriſh*, (*a peritiſſimis Scotorum*) the firſt coming in of the *Scots* to *Ireland* was only about ſix hundred years before the incarnation; whereas the later ſeanachies have raiſed their ſettlement, and beginning of their monarchy in *Ireland*, ſome of them two thouſand years, others thirteen hundred before the incarnation: ſo that *Nennius*, far from adding any force to the ſtory of theſe remote antiquities, ſerves rather to derogate from their credit, by ſhewing the variations and novelty of their ſchemes of an

(*a*) Supra, p. 193.

ancient

ancient ſettlement and monarchy in the *Mileſian* race; as it hath been elſewhere (*a*) obſerved.

HAVING now ſhewn that the *Scots* are not the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland*, but a foreign people come in upon the ancient inhabitants, only about or ſince the time of the incarnation; before we enter upon the examination of the preciſe time of their firſt ſettlement in the north of *Britain*, it remains to enquire of what origine they were, and whence they came at firſt into *Ireland*.

CHAP. III.

Of the origine of the Scots; *of their name, and of the time of their ſettlement in* Ireland.

THE obſcurity in which the origine and remote antiquities of all the northern nations are involved, ariſes from their wanting all domeſtick monuments of ancient hiſtory, and for the moſt part even the uſe of letters, till they were poliſhed, either by being ſubjected to the *Roman* empire or by the light of chriſtianity. This we have ſhewn in particular, was, in all appearance, the caſe of *Ireland*, till about the time the goſpel

(*a*) Supra, p 496, 497.

was preached there in the fifth age: ſo till that time we can expect no certain accounts of the revolutions that happened among the *Iriſh*, no more than of other barbarous nations without the *Roman* empire, or which did not border upon, or interfere with it. And far from finding any account of the *Scots* in the firſt ages of chriſtianity, their name is not ſo much as once to be met with in hiſtory, or in any of the ancient deſcriptions of the world left us by *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, or any other of the ancient geographers; nor is the name of *Scots* ever ſo much as once mentioned till the third or fourth age, as hath been (*a*) already ſhewn.

So in this enquiry into their origine, or the time of their coming into *Ireland*, the only light we muſt walk by, is what may be borrowed by probable conjectures, grounded upon ſuch accounts as the *Roman* writers give us of the ſtate of the ſeveral barbarous nations in the neighbourhood of *Ireland* in the firſt ages of chriſtianity.

And firſt, as to the name of *Scots*; tho' it be no where to be met with, as it is now written and pronounced, before the third or fourth age, yet it can ſcarce be queſtioned, but originally it is the ſame as that of the *Scyths*; there being a viſible reſemblance betwixt the names of *Scythæ* and *Scoti*, and only ſome difference in the pronunciation,

(*a*) Supra, p. 513, 514, &c.

very

very uſual in the names of ancient nations, according to the different accent or pronunciation of the ſeveral people that ſpoke or wrote of them. Thus as *Gethi Gethicus*, are the ſame as *Gothi Gothicus*; ſo alſo from *Scythæ Scythicus*, come *Scoti Scoticus*. Theſe are (*a*) *Walſingham*, an *Engliſh* writer's words; and before him (*b*) *Radulfus de Diceto*, dean of *London*, makes the ſame obſervation. *Nennius* (*c*), in the ninth age, uſes promiſcuouſly the names of *Scythæ* and *Scoti* for the ſame people; and *Gildas* (*d*), in the ſixth age, calls *Scythica vallis*, the paſſage through which the *Scots* uſed to invade the provincial *Britains*. The *Germans* to this day call both *Scyths* and *Scots* by the ſame name *Scutten*.

BUT what is moſt remarkable, the *Britains* in their ancient tongue, (as (*e*) *Camden* obſerves) call both the nations of *Scyths* and *Scots* by the ſame name *Y-ſcot*. I ſay this denomination of the *Britains* is moſt remarkable of all, becauſe the *Britains*, on the firſt appearance of that new people in *Britain*, giving them the name of *Y-ſcot* or *Scot*, whether from their being originally *Scyths*, or rather from their reſembling the *Scyths* by their habit, arms, and cuſtoms, gave a natural occaſion

(*a*) Walſingham Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 552.
(*b*) Rad. de Diceto inter X. ſcriptores Angl. col. 627.
(*c*) Nennius, cap. 10.
(*d*) Gildas, c. 15.
(*e*) Camden Scoti.

to the *Romans*, than in poſſeſſion of the ſouth of *Britain*, to *Latinize* the name of theſe new enemies of the empire, and call them *Scoti*: and thus the origine of the name is not from the *Scots* themſelves, or the *Iriſh*, (in whoſe ancient language it was never in uſe, nor is it among our *Scotiſh Highlanders* to this day, at leaſt among the vulgar) but a foreign denomination given them by the *Britains*, and from them by the *Romans*, and thoſe that ſpoke or wrote in the *Latin* tongue.

THIS occaſion and riſe of the name of *Scots*, furniſhes a very probable conjecture of the country of their origine, whence they came at firſt to *Ireland*. In order to make this diſcovery, we are, in the firſt place, to find a people lying towards *Ireland*, called by the name of *Scyths*, or uſing their cuſtoms, habit, and arms. 2°. We are to find ſuch a people in a motion and circumſtances proper for a tranſmigration to *Ireland*, in the firſt ages of chriſtianity. And we are furniſhed by the *Roman* writers with people under all theſe circumſtances in *Scandia*, to the north of *Ireland*, and in *Cantabria* to the ſouth of it; both the moſt proper places to invade *Ireland*, and a people in both theſe countries under theſe circumſtances, which uſed to put them on ſeeking out new habitations, and that preciſely in the firſt ages of chriſtianity.

AND firſt as to *Scandia*, or the ancient *Cherſoneſus Cymbrica*, now including the kingdoms of *Norway*, *Denmark*, &c. it hath been already obſerved, ſpeaking of the *Picts*, that all theſe countries, to the extremity of the northern continent, were called by the (*a*) ancients *Scythia*, and the inhabitants called *Scyths*. And they are called by (*b*) *Jornandes*, *Officina Gentium*, the workhouſe of nations; becauſe of the great multitudes that have, like an inundation, ſpread themſelves from thence into moſt of the countries of *Europe*.

IT is alſo to be obſerved, that thoſe northern nations, (among whom I comprehend not only thoſe of *Scandia*, but all without the furtheſt limits of the empire, and beyond what is now called *Flanders*) were all (*c*) ſubject to frequent changes of dwellings; 1°. Becauſe of their extraordinary multiplying, which put them under a neceſſity of changing their habitations, and dilating themſelves, as their number increaſed; and their houſes or cottages being only for a day's ſervice, made them eaſily abandon their homes. 2°. Becauſe there being no other law among them, than that of the ſtrongeſt, they were often conſtrained to abandon their habitations to a greater

(*a*) Diodor. Sic. l. 6. c 7. Strabo, p. 507. Plin. l. 6. c 13.
(*b*) Jornand. l. 1. c. 4.
(*c*) Strabo, p. 291, & 305.

force;

force; and being bounded by the ſea, they were forced to embark to ſeek new dwellings.

NOW by all the beſt accounts that we have of theſe early times, there's none more likely for ſuch a tranſmigration of a colony of theſe northern nations to *Ireland*, or to the north of *Britain*, than the interval from the reigns of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, till the third or fourth age, in which the name of *Scots* is firſt heard of.

THESE northern nations, till *Julius Cæſar* conquered *Gaul*, had a fair field on the continent, to diſcharge their ſuperfluous brood, the *Gauls* and *Germany* lying open to them. But from *Julius Cæſar*'s time, down till the third age, *Gaul* being conquered, and the *Roman* empire being generally in its full vigour, their legions quartered all over, and upon the borders of the empire towards the north, and hemmed in the northern nations on that ſide; and the *Barbars* of *Germany*, being alſo kept in awe by the *Romans*, were forced to canton within their own territories, and ſo left no room for the more northern nations beyond them, to come in and ſettle among them.

BESIDES that, during the later end of the reign of *Auguſtus*, and the beginning of that of *Tiberius*, theſe northern nations were confined into more narrow bounds than ever before, and further preſſed back: the *Roman* arms under *Druſus*

and

and *Germanicus*, as *Strabo* (*a*), *Tacitus* (*b*), and *Dio* (*c*), relate, having penetrated among the *Cheruſei* to the *Elb*, near the confines of the *Cherſoneſus Cymbrica* and the *Baltick* ſea.

THOSE nations of the north being thus penned up by the *Romans* on this ſide, and having no diſcharge among the nations behind them, over-burthened with their own yearly increaſing multitudes; it was very natural, that the moſt warlike and reſolute among them, impatient of being thus confined and incloſed, ſhould reſolve to put to ſea, to purchaſe new habitations: nor had they a more natural courſe to chuſe, than to the oppoſite coaſts of the north of *Britain*; or, if repulſed by theſe warlike inhabitants the *Caledonians*, to ſail from thence to *Ireland*, where they were more likely to ſucceed among a people unaccuſtomed to foreign wars. Nor could their coming to *Ireland* be more ſeaſonably placed, than during theſe firſt ages of chriſtianity, when the *Roman* empire was at the height of its power and extent. Beſides that, the placing their invaſion of *Ireland* in theſe firſt ages, agrees perfectly with their firſt appearance in *Britain*, in the third or fourth age, by the name of *Scots*: there being ſome time required for their rendering themſelves maſters of *Ireland*, before they could be in a condition to ſend out

(*a*) Strabo, p. 291.
(*b*) Tacit. lib. 1.
(*c*) Dio, lib. 5.

bodies

bodies of men, able, in conjunction with the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, to attack the *Roman* empire in *Britain*, as we ſee by *Ammian* they did, towards the middle of the fourth century. And thus far as to the probability of the *Scots* coming into *Ireland* at firſt from *Scandia* and the north.

BUT after all, ſince the *Iriſh* tradition will abſolutely have the inhabitants of that country come from *Spain*, it does not appear very hard to ſatisfy them in that: for, 1°. This tradition may regard other colonies coming to *Ireland*, whereof ſome may probably enough have come from *Spain* to *Ireland* before the *Scots* ſettled there. 2°. We may allow that the *Scots* themſelves came originally from *Spain*, and yet not depart from what we have ſettled, about their coming in to *Ireland* only about the beginning of chriſtianity, and from their having their name originally from the *Scythians*.

FOR we find, under the reign of *Auguſtus*, by *Florus* (*a*) and *Oroſius* (*b*), that the *Romans* met with extreme difficulty in reducing the *Cantabrians*, and *Aſturians*, with other unconquered nations of *Galicia*, in the northern extremities of *Spain*, that look towards *Ireland*; and that the inhabitants of thoſe parts, who were a very warlike people,

(*a*) Florus, l. 4. c. 12.
(*b*) Oroſius, l. 6. c. 24.

and

and never as yet ſubdued, choſe rather, for the moſt part, to retire to the hills and rocks, and to the moſt deſert and remote places, than to loſe their liberty and ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke.

IT is true, that *Florus* and *Oroſius*, who give an account of this *Cantabrian* war, do not expreſly inform us, that any colony of the *Galicians* left *Spain* on this occaſion, to ſeek a foreign habitation; but what they relate of their averſion to ſubmit to, and live under the *Romans*, of the extremities they choſe to be reduced to, rather than to part with their liberty, makes it very credible, that the moſt valiant of them would rather have abandoned their habitations, and ſeek out new ones, than ſubmit themſelves to the *Romans*. Moreover, the paſſage from thoſe parts of *Spain* to *Ireland* was very eaſy, they wanted not ſhipping, nor could they be unacquainted with *Ireland*; and that the conqueſt of it was not a difficult matter, the natives being ſo little accuſtomed to foreign enemies.

NOW the people who inhabited thoſe northern provinces of *Spain*, were of old deſcended of the *Celtes* and *Scyths*: for we meet, in thoſe parts of *Spain*, both with the *Scythian* and *Celtick* promontories; and a part of the inhabitants were called *Celtiberi*. And whatever there may be of their origine from the *Scyths*, being hitherto an unconquered people, the retaining the manners and

arms

arms of the ancient *Scyths* and *Celtes*, might give occaſion enough to the *Britains* to give them, when they firſt appeared in the iſland, the name of *Scyth* or *Y-ſcot*. And their common name in *Spain*, which no doubt they would bring with them, being *Gallæci*, or as ſome write it, *Callaici*, might have given occaſion to their calling themſelves, in their own language, *Gael* and *Gaelick*, as they pronounce it. *Pomponius Mela* (*a*), an author of theſe times, telling us that all thoſe northern parts of *Spain*, from the *Celtick* promontory, to the river *Durius*, were inhabited by the *Celtes*; and that the *Artabri*, a people of theſe parts, were a *Celtick* nation, ſeems to prove, that though thoſe people were alſo called *Scyths*, they were all nevertheleſs originally deſcended of the *Celtes*, and by conſequence ſpoke the *Celtick* language, or a dialect of it; and the language of the ancient inhabitants of *Ireland* being alſo, as we obſerved before, another dialect of the *Celtick*, the new and old inhabitants of *Ireland* were ſooner and more eaſily cemented together by degrees into one people, without any laſting difference in their languages.

To conclude, whenceſoever the *Scots* came originally to *Ireland*, and from thence to the north of *Britain*, whether from *Scandia*, and other extremities of the north, or from *Spain*, I think what is here

(*a*) Pomp. Mela, l. 3. c. 1.

ſaid,

ſaid may ſuffice to ſhew, with great probability, that they had their name from that of *Scyths*; whether from the *Scots* being originally of that people, or rather from their reſembling the *Scyths*, on their firſt appearance, in their habit, armour, and cuſtoms; and that the placing their firſt coming in to *Ireland* no ſooner than about, or after, the times of chriſtianity, is conformable to the ſureſt accounts that we have, in the earlieſt times, from the beſt hiſtorians, concerning the ſtate of theſe countries, from whence it is moſt likely, that the *Scots* originally came out at firſt to *Ireland*, as well as to the firſt appearance they make in hiſtory in the fourth age, by the name of *Scots* in *Britain*.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the writers of the Scotiſh *hiſtory, of the time of the firſt ſettlement of the* Scots, *and of the beginning of their monarchy in* Britain.

HAVING ſhewn in the firſt diſſertation, how little ground there is for all that the *Iriſh* writers have delivered, about the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* about twelve or thirteen ages before chriſtianity; and made it appear, by all the ſureſt lights we can find in ancient hiſtory, concerning the ſtate of *Ireland*, that the firſt coming in of the *Scots* to it was, in all likelihood, either about, or even poſterior to the times of the in-

carnation: it follows neceſſarily, in the ſame degree of certainty, that the antiquity of the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and that of their monarchy in the *Scotiſh* line, muſt be proportionably abated. By what hath been ſaid in the account that we have already given of the *Picts*, it hath, I hope, appeared that neither the royal family, nor the inhabitants of *Scotland*, ſtand in need of the remote antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, to prove their antiquity beyond that of any kingdom of *Europe*: and by the diſcuſſion we have made at length, of the accounts given us by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers, of their forty kings of *Scotland*, preceding *Fergus*, the ſon of *Erc*, commonly called *Fergus* II. it hath, I conceive, been made evident, that the hiſtory of theſe forty kings can be of no ſervice, at leaſt, among impartial judges, to the antiquity of the *Scotiſh* monarchy; and, as it is ſet forth by theſe hiſtorians, hath very much prejudiced the rights of it. This ſuppoſed, I hope that the lovers of truth, among the learned of our countrymen, will not find fault, after due examination, with the freedom that I have taken, in ſettling the beginning of our monarchy in the *Scotiſh* line, to depart from the ſchemes of our hiſtorians in modern ages; and that I take, among other vouchers, for my guides, the few remains that we have of our more ancient writers.

And therefore, in order to put what I am to treat of in a better light, it ſeems neceſſary, before

fore I enter upon the examination of the *Epoch* of the ſettlement of the *Scots*, and beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*, to give previouſly a ſhort and diſtinct account of the writers of the hiſtory of *Scotland*.

So this ſecond diſſertation ſhall contain three chapters. In the firſt, I ſhall treat of the writers of our hiſtory. In the ſecond, I ſhall examine the *Æra* of the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and of the beginning of the monarchy in the *Scotiſh* line. In the third, for a general anſwer to all objections againſt what is here eſtabliſhed, I ſhall endeavour to give an account of the different ſteps and degrees by which the remote antiquities of the *Scots* grew up, by length of time, in the ſeveral hands through which they paſſed into the plan of hiſtory, in which they are delivered by the modern writers.

Chap. I.

Of the writers of the Scotiſh *hiſtory.*

I Shall reduce all that concerns the writers of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory to theſe three heads; 1°. Of the writers of our hiſtory in general. 2°. Of the many [illegible]ers befallen in paſt ages to the records and monuments of our hiſtory. 3°. Of the monuments of our hiſtory which yet remain.

ART. I. *Of the writers of the* Scotiſh *hiſtory in general.*

IT cannot be reaſonably doubted, but that the *Scots*, as well as other nations, had anciently writers of their hiſtory long before *Fordun*; and even *Stillingfleet (a)* does not doubt of that. To ſay nothing here of *Gildas*, who, according to the moſt ancient account we have of his life (*b*), was born at *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbarton*, in the north of *Britain*; the moſt ancient pieces of hiſtory, written in *Britain*, that are extant, are of authors living in *Scotland*, and who wrote before the *Saxon* hiſtorian *Bede*. Such are *Cumineus* and *Adamnanus*, both abbots of *Ycolmkill*; who, beſides other hiſtorical treatiſes, wrote the life of St. *Columba*, apoſtle of the northern *Picts*: theſe works are ſtill extant, and received by all the learned; and in them are ſeveral paſſages, relating both to the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* hiſtory, and to their civil and religious cuſtoms, the names of ſome of their ancient kings, and ſome account of their actions, above eleven hundred years ago. Nor can it be doubted, with any tolerable ground, but theſe ſame authors, or ſome of their ſucceſſors, or other religious men in that ancient monaſtery of

(*a*) Stillingfl. Antiq. Brit. præf. p. xvii.

(*b*) The life of *Gildas* was written by a Monk of *Ruiſe* in *Little Brittany*, and publiſhed by *F. Mabillon Sæc. Benedictin.* tom. I.

Ycolmkill,

Ycolmkill, (where the kings of *Scotland* uſed anciently to be crowned before the union of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kingdoms, and where they all had their burial-place till the eleventh age) it cannot be doubted, but ſome of the religious men of that monarchy, would record the ſucceſſion, lives, deaths, and chief actions of the kings, and the more remarkable tranſactions of the kingdom.

THE ſame thing may be ſaid of the ancient religious houſes of *Abirnethy*, *Dunkeld*, *Kilrimund* or St. *Andrew*'s, *Brichen*, and others. Would all theſe houſes, where, no doubt, there were men capable to write, againſt the cuſtom of all other ſuch places, in all countries, ſince they had the uſe of letters, in contradiction to the natural inclination of mankind, leave their poſterity in ignorance? Were not their religious and civil intereſts ſo interwoven with the knowledge of paſt, and the preſervation of preſent tranſactions, that they muſt be ſuppoſed to have been, againſt common ſenſe, unmindful of the firſt, not to have recorded the laſt? In ſhort, ſuch negligence and ſupineſs among men otherwiſe ſtudious and knowing, would ſuppoſe either a formed deſign of entailing ignorance on poſterity, or the extinction of all ſenſe of humanity. Nor needs more be ſaid, ſince there cannot be the leaſt doubt, but that the *Scots* and *Picts* had anciently writers of hiſtory, as well as other nations.

AN author of the twelfth age, contemporary to *Andrew* biſhop of *Catneſs*, (who died (*a*) *A. D.* 1185) who is quoted by *Camden* (*b*), and is ſtill extant: this ancient writer, in a deſcription of *Albany*, the ancient name of *Scotland*, makes mention of our ancient hiſtories in theſe words; *Legimus in hiſtoriis & chronicis antiquorum Britonum, & in geſtis & annalibus antiquis Scottorum & Pictorum*, &c. (*c*) There were then extant chronicles and annals, containing the actions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and theſe too of ſo long a ſtanding, that they were eſteemed ancient by an author of the twelfth age.

ART. II. *Of the many diſaſters befallen the monuments of the* Scots *hiſtory in paſt ages.*

AS to the want there is at preſent, and in theſe later ages, of ancient hiſtories, and other works of ancient writers among the *Scots*, this will not ſeem a conſiderable objection againſt their having had ſuch in former times, to any who will conſider the many diſaſters that have happened to ancient hiſtories, MSS. and monuments, of all kinds, in our country: but it will rather ſeem a wonder, that we have any remains of them at all, after ſo general and redoubled misfortunes that have hap-

(*a*) Chr. Mayl. ad hunc an.
(*b*) Camden in Scotia.
(*c*) Append. num. 1.

pened to them; 1°. By caſual accidents, more frequent in *Scotland* than in moſt other countries of old. 2°. By a ſet purpoſe, as our hiſtorians relate, of a powerful enemy, maſter of the kingdom, and a formed reſolution to aboliſh or carry off all ancient monuments, records, or documents of paſt tranſactions, eſpecially as to our civil antiquities. 3°. By the zeal of *John Knox*, and others of his ſpirit, among our firſt reformers, equally animated, and reſolved to deſtroy all eccleſiaſtical monuments.

§. 1. *Of caſual accidents.*

AND in the firſt place, how great a loſs of records of hiſtory and ancient monuments enſued, on the frequent invaſions and ravages made by the *Danes*, in the famous monaſtery of *Ycolmkill*, during the ninth and tenth ages? (*a*) Hiſtorians reckon up no leſs than ſix different devaſtations of it in the tenth age: inſomuch that St. *Margaret*, in the 11th, found it quite ruined, and rebuilt it a new; as (*b*) *Oder. Vitalis*, a contemporary hiſtorian, relates. What further deſtruction and loſs of ancient records, over all the kingdom, happened by the wars with the *Picts*, before they

(*a*) Chron. Inſ. Hyenſis ex Colg. Triade Thaumat, p. 498.

(*b*) Inter cætera bona, quæ nobilis illa hera fecerat, Huenſe monaſterium quod ... tempeſtate præliorum & longa vetuſtate dirutam fuerat, fidelis regina reædificavit. *Oderic. Vital. Scriptores Normanniæ*, p. 701, 702.

had totally ſubmitted, by the ravages of the ſame *Danes*, eſpecially in times when the houſes, as was ordinary in thoſe days, and long after, were generally all of wood: which is the reaſon we find often in our hiſtory conflagrations, not of houſes only, but of whole towns, and ſometimes many towns burnt in one year; as (*a*) *A. D.* 1244, no leſs than eight of the royal burghs, without any foreign invaſion, were burnt to aſhes; and many others, both towns, churches, and abbeys, at other times and occaſions, eſpecially on this ſide of the *Forth*, by the frequent invaſions of the *Engliſh*.

§. 2. *Deſtruction of our hiſtorical monuments by king* Edward I. *of* England.

As to the ſecond occaſion of the loſs of our hiſtories, and other ancient records and monuments, it was not by accident or caſual, as at other times, but, as our other writers relate, a formed deſign to aboliſh, if poſſible, for ever all memory of paſt tranſactions among the *Scots*. We have already mentioned how, after the untimely death of king *Alexander* III. of *Scotland*, in the debate among the competitors, eſpecially betwixt *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*, concerning the right of ſucceſſion to the crown, king *Edward* I. known among the *Scots* by the ſurname of *Longſhanks*, having got himſelf choſen umpire betwixt the two

(*a*) Fordun, l. 14. c. 19.

contending parties; and having in that quality obtained the cuſtody of the kingdom, and thus becoming maſter of all the caſtles and ſtrengths thereof, in order to put in poſſeſſion of it which ever of the two ſhould be found to be next heir by law and cuſtom, under pretext of examining the order and right of ſucceſſion, according to the uſe and precedents in former reigns in *Scotland*, to which he ſoon added a new pretence of ſearching in the *Scotiſh* hiſtories and records, for proofs of his pretended ſuperiority over *Scotland*, he cauſed a ſearch to be made over all the churches, monaſteries, libraries, and archives of the kingdom, and all the hiſtories and ancient chronicles, to be gathered up; and getting them once in his poſſeſſion, together with all the publick records, he cauſed ſome of them to be carried up to *England*, and burned and deſtroyed the reſt.

KING *Edward*'s aim and intention in this was palpable enough, to wit, that the *Scots* being quite deſtitute of all certainty of paſt tranſactions, and deprived of all proofs and evidences of their juſt rights and privileges, as well as of the knowledge of all the brave actions of their anceſtors, he might more eaſily enſlave them, and impoſe what he pleaſed upon them, without their being in a condition to produce either hiſtory or record, to defend themſelves, or diſpute his pretenſions. And we have too viſible proofs of this deſtruction of our hiſtories and records, and in conſequence, of the

the ignorance in which the *Scots* were, of the ancient ſtate and hiſtory of the kingdom: we have, I ſay, too full proofs of this, in the debate and proceſs about our independency, *A. D.* 1301, before pope *Boniface* VIII. and in the *Scotiſh* nobility's letter to pope *John* XXII. *A. D.* 1320.

IT appears, by the *Engliſh* writers and publick records, that king *Edward*'s animoſity againſt all the titles or marks of honour, or antiquity of the monarchy of *Scotland*, carried him to take away or deſtroy all that could preſerve the memory of its being a kingdom, ſuch as the crown and the *Regalia* (*a*), the famous ſtone (*b*) chair in which our kings uſed to be enthroned; and even the abby of *Scoon* itſelf, where they were wont to be crowned. This ſame animoſity he tranſmitted to his ſon *Edward* II. during whoſe reign we meet with repeated remarks (*c*) of his preſſing ſolicitations to the pope to have that abbey deſtroyed, or removed elſewhere.

BUT of this ſearching for, deſtroying or carrying off our records or hiſtories, we have ample proofs, not only in *Boece* and our other modern hiſtorians, but in writers and records, both *Scotiſh*

(*a*) Math. Weſtmonaſt. 428. n. 17, 18.
(*b*) Walſingham.
(*c*) Rymer's Fœder. tom. II. p. 1000, 1002, 1031, 1043.

and *Engliſh*, much more ancient; and ſome of theſe very times.

WE have the fulleſt account of it in the preface to the chronicle of *Couper*, which I have ſet down already, written about three hundred years ago, in theſe words; *At ipſe* (*R.* Edwardus) *ſtatim occaſione, ut prætendebat, cognoſcendi quis eorum* (Bayliol, *an* Bruce) *per vetuſtorum grammatum indagationem, pleniorem in regno* (Scotiæ) *vindicare poterat facultatem, rimatis regni cunctis librariis, & ad manus ejus receptis authenticis & antiquatis hiſtoriarum chronicis, aliquantas ſecum & ad Angliam abſtulit, reliquas vero flammis incinerandas deſpicabiliter commiſit.*

ALL the continuators of *Fordun*'s hiſtory, in the fifteenth age, take notice of theſe ſearches made every where, by king *Edward*'s order, for the ancient annals and chronicles of *Scotland*; among others, the continuation of *Fordun*, attributed to biſhop *Elphinſton* in the *Bodleian* library, gives much the ſame account of this enquiry as the reſt; and that king *Edward* was not content to make ſearch through *Scotland* alone, but in all places where any *Scotiſh* hiſtory might be found; (*b*) *Exquiruntur interim geſta & chronica tam in regno Scotiæ, Angliæ, Hyberniæ, quam Franciæ . . . non tantum de jure & conſuetudine eorum*

(*a*) Supra, p. 205, 206.

(*b*) Scotichron. (Elphinſton) MSS. bibl. Bodl. 1 8. c. 11. (competitorum)

(competitorum) *propter deciſionem quæſtionis inter Robertum de Broys & Joannem de Balliolo, verum etiam magis ad inveſtigandum & inquirendum de jure regis Angliæ ſuper ſubjectione regni Scotiæ.* By this we ſee the endeavours king *Edward* made to get into his hands all chronicles and hiſtories of *Scotland*; not only thoſe within the kingdom, but thoſe alſo that might be in *England*, *Ireland*, and that part of *France* where he was maſter.

FOR a further proof of the hiſtories of *Scotland* in being at the time of this ſearch, made by *Edward* for them, and carried to him, to be inſpected for deciding the right of the competitors; (*a*) *Knyghton*, an *Engliſh* writer, informs us expreſly, that king *Edward caused a ſearch to be made for all the chronicles in the monaſteries, and in all places of the kingdom of* Scotland, *and cauſed them to be brought up to him and examined, concerning the order of ſucceſſion in the preceding times, for the ſpace of* 15 *reigns, or ſucceſſions backwards*, which reached back to the reign of king *Keneth* III. in the tenth age. No doubt theſe chronicles contained the hiſtory of the *Scotiſh* kings, from the beginning; but there was no

(*a*) Statimque rex (Edwardo) pro certiori fide habenda fecit quærere & examinare omnes chronicas in abbatiis cunctis locis regni (Scotiæ) per datam quindecim regum Scotiæ *Knyghton inter X. ſcriptores Angliæ. col.* 2469. *n.* 23.

occasion,

occaſion, in the preſent debate betwixt the competitors, concerning the right of hereditary ſucceſſion, of going farther back than to this *Keneth* III. he being the author of the law for eſtabliſhing more fixedly the ſucceſſion to the immediate heir, of what age ſoever; as all our hiſtorians (*a*) agree: the account of the ſucceſſion of the kings, who preceded *Keneth* III. could not be ſo ſerviceable to the deciſion of the preſent caſe.

BUT we have an ample teſtimony of king *Edward*'s carrying off, or deſtroying our records, hiſtories, and all the ancient monuments of the kingdom, from a publick document of theſe very times, preſented *A. D.* 1301 to pope *Boniface* VIII. in the name of the three ſtates of the kingdom of *Scotland*, whereof I ſhall have occaſion to give a fuller account. At preſent I ſhall only remark what they ſay of the want they were in of their ancient records and hiſtories, by the havock made of them by king *Edward*; by which the *Scots* were deprived of many helps theſe records and titles would have furniſhed them in the defence of their rights and privileges: (*b*) *De iis autem omnibus & aliis regni Scotiæ defenſionibus, libertatibus & juribus exiſtentia monumenta publica in theſauraria regni Scotiæ, idem rex Angliæ* (Edwardus)

(*a*) Fordun, l. 4. c. 29.

(*b*) Inſtructiones prelat. baron. & conſ. Scotiæ contra R. Edw. ap. Scotichron. l. 8. c. 52. edit. Th. Hearne, p. 835, & 876.

wardus) *cum regni Scotiæ habuit cuſtodiam ex eaden theſauraria abſtulit, & vi & metu ſecum in Angli cum multis aliis bullis, cartis & munimentis regn Scotiæ, cum quibus confirmabantur regni Scotiæ pri vilegia memorata & libertates*, &c.

ANOTHER, no leſs authentick document, we have, dated the 12th of *Auguſt* 1291, printed by *Prinn (a)* among his collections from the rolls It is a precept of king *Edward*'s to the keepers of *Edinburgh* caſtle, to deliver up all the charters inſtruments, rolls and writs whatſoever, that might concern the rights of the competitors, or his own pretended title to the ſuperiority of *Scotland*, to be carried off, and placed where he ſhould appoint; and theſe to be put into the hands of five perſons, two *Scots*, and three *Engliſh*; and theſe laſt to act by themſelves, if the two firſt happened to be hindered. All which was accordingly executed; and all either loſt or deſtroyed, or carried up to *London*; whereof the remains of our records, partly printed by M. *Rymer*, partly to be met with as yet in the tower of *London*, and archives of *Weſtminſter*, make too evident a proof. Among others, there's in the *Cotton* library, (*Nero C.* III.) an inventory of the inſtruments touching the kingdom of *Scotland*, kept in the archives of *Weſtminſter*; whereof one hath for title, *Tres ſce-*

(a) Prinn's. collect. tom. II. p. 545.

ulæ

dula facientes mentionem de bullis chartis & aliis inventis in theſauro regis Scotiæ apud Edinburgh.

AND as to *Edward*'s carrying up to *England* what was not deſtroyed of our hiſtories; 1°. The chronicle of *Maylres*, continued till near theſe times, as both the ſubject and character of the writing manifeſts, and abruptly broken off a few years before king *Edward*'s invaſion, may be reckoned, for one proof, ſufficient enough. It is ſtill preſerved in the *Cotton* library in the original MS. 2°. In the ſame library there are other two MSS. which contain extracts of four different chronicles of *Scotland*; the firſt is (*Claudius D.* VII.) and contains a collection of many extracts of different hiſtories, whereof the fourth bears the title of *Nomina regum Scottorum qui regnaverunt poſt Pictos*; and this extract is written before *John Fordun*'s hiſtory. This ſeries of our kings is taken from two of our ancient chronicles compared together. The author marks their differences thus, *In alio libro ſic*, &c. The other MS. is *Vitellius A.* 20, under the title of, *Hiſtoria Angliæ a Bruto ad A. D.* 1348. In the end of this collection, the author gives a chronological ſeries of our kings that reigned ſince the *Picts*, with a ſhort account of their lives, from two other *Scotiſh* chronicles, diſtinct from the former. So we ſee theſe two *Engliſh* writers had in *England* no leſs than four diſtinct books, or chronicles of *Scotland*; all much older than *Fordun*. I might alſo reckon, among the

the remains of our chronicles carried up to *England*, that chronicle of *Edinburgh*, publiſhed in *Anglia Sacra:* for it cannot be doubted, but the latter part of that chronicle was written by a canon of *Holy-Rood-Houſe*. In ſhort, almoſt all that remains to us, of monuments of our civil hiſtory, antecedent to king *Edward*'s I's invaſion, have been found in *England*; ſome of which will be in particular mentioned hereafter, and inſerted in the appendix.

AND how many more of this kind have been carried up, of which we have no account? As to theſe two extracts of our *Scotiſh* chronicles in the *Cotton* library, made by *Engliſh* writers, the intention of theſe collectors being only to extract the ſeries of the kings of *Scotland*, from the union of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kingdoms in one monarchy, as the title bears, they begin their extracts no farther up; tho', it is very likely, that theſe *Scotiſh* chronicles, whence they are taken, contained a compleat hiſtory, or ſeries of our kings, from the beginning of the monarchy.

HOWEVER that be, theſe chronicles are now no where, that we can hear of, to be found entire; nor have we any compleat chronicle or hiſtory of our kings, from the beginnning, more ancient than that of *John Fordun*.

AFTER

AETER all, it muſt be conſidered, that king *Edward* was a declared enemy of the *Scotiſh* nation; and was, beſides, animated againſt them by their unrelenting endeavours to ſhake off his yoke. Their frequent riſing in arms to recover their liberty, after he had thought them totally ſubdued, enraged him againſt them, and made him reſolve to deſtroy all marks of a kingdom, or a free nation, and all that could renew the memory of their ancient glory and independency. But we do not find that he deſignedly either burnt their churches or religious houſes; or that, with the civil hiſtories and records, he either carried off, or deſtroyed the writs, records, regiſters, or libraries of their churches. The deſtruction of theſe was reſerved for other hands, and thoſe too of natives of *Scotland*.

§. 3. *Deſtruction of hiſtorical, and of other ancient monuments, at the* Scotiſh *reformation.*

THE third loſs, or deſtruction of ancient records, hiſtories, and all ſorts of MSS in *Scotland*, and chiefly thoſe relating to eccleſiaſtical matters, was occaſioned by the zeal of our firſt reformers in the ſixteenth age. It is with reluctancy that I revive the memory of that tragedy; but I cannot but give here an account of it, in order chiefly to anſwer the objection drawn from the few remains that are now to be found in *Scotland*,

of records, ancient hiſtories, and MSS. of any kind, if compared with the plenty they have ſtill of them in *England*, notwithſtanding the reformation equally made in that kingdom; from whence it is inferred, by ſome that are not enough acquainted with the tranſactions at the reformation in both kingdoms, that the ſcarcity which we have ever ſince in *Scotland* of MSS. muſt proceed from there having been but few of them even before the reformation, otherwiſe why might there not have remained after it as many ancient MSS. in *Scotland*, in proportion, as in *England?*

To anſwer this objection, drawn from the few remains of MSS. we have ſince the reformation, it is ſufficient to expoſe the plain matter of fact, from proteſtant writers, who lived at or near that time; and, in the firſt place, to obſerve the vaſt difference there was as to records and MSS. betwixt the method by which the reformation was carried on in *England*, and that in which it was hurried on in *Scotland*.

1°. In *England* the reformation was begun and carried on by authority of the ſovereign, and had the outward countenance of legal proceedings. In *Scotland* the ringleaders of the reformation, far from any countenance of the ſovereign, or laws, were in open rebellion againſt the queen, then their ſovereign, and acted in defiance of all the then ſtanding laws.

2°. In

2°. IN *England* the cathedral churches, with all their buildings, records and libraries, were left untouched, at leaſt in the firſt heat of the reformation. In *Scotland* the buildings, records, archives, and libraries of the cathedrals, were no more ſpared, than thoſe of the abbeys and monaſteries.

3°. IN *England* the ſuppreſſing or defacing of abbeys and monaſteries was not permitted to the multitude or rabble, but (*a*) deputies on purpoſe appointed by authority, with expreſs order to preſerve all things of value, to regiſter, and make an account of them; and in particular, care was taken to preſerve all evidences, MSS. and records.

AND under the reign of king *Henry* VIII. upon the diſſolution of the abbeys and monaſteries, ſo great care was taken for the preſervation of all ancient monuments of hiſtory, that *A. D.* 1543, (*b*) by a ſpecial writ of that king, commiſſion was given to *John Leland*, a learned and zealous antiquary, *to peruſe and ſearch all the libraries of the monaſteries and colleges throughout the whole realm that were then diſſolved and broken up, that as much as might be, all ancient monuments of the land ... might be preſerved.* And notwithſtanding

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. 1. Collect. p. 152.
(*b*) Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 385.

all theſe precautions, *Leland* tells us that many of theſe monuments were deſtroyed.

How much more in *Scotland*, where no ſuch precaution was uſed, nor was it practicable; the government being at the time unhinged; and the executioners of this reformation of churches, as it was called, being the gentlemen of the congregation and an inconſiderate multitude, with arms in their hands againſt their ſovereign, led on by the fiery exhortations of their new preachers, with a blind zeal to burn and deſtroy all monuments of religion, as ſuperſtitious and idolatrous; and particularly animated againſt all MSS. and records, relating to religion, in order to aboliſh the memory of what they termed idolatry; and eſpecially to burn all books that had red letters, as belonging to the popiſh worſhip, by which means ſuch MS. hiſtories that came in their way, were ſacrificed without diſtinction, all of them having the titles in *miniature*, or red letters, as well as books of liturgy or laws: and even in the burning the books of the old liturgy, we made conſiderable hiſtorical loſſes; for 'tis to be obſerved, that frequently in old miſſals, breviaries, and ſuch others, where there were, at the beginning or end, blank leaves; the churchmen, or religious men of theſe times, uſed to fill them up for their own uſe, with extracts or copies of parts of the hiſtory or chronology of the country. I have ſeen ſome of this kind; but the moſt valuable I have met with, was

was at *Drummond-Caſtle*, the ſeat of the noble family of *Perth*; where, among the remains of an ancient library belonging to it, I found in an ancient breviary, on vellum, written about the end of the fourteenth age, an exact chronology, beginning *A. D.* 1067, at the marriage of *Malcolm* III. and *S. Margaret*, and from thence down till about *A. D.* 1390, (when it appears to have been written) containing the principal tranſactions of the kingdom, each with its proper date of the year, and often of the day and month. In the ſame library there is, among other MSS. a valuable ſacramentary, or miſſal, in a *Saxon* or *Iriſh* character, that appears to be about ſeven hundred years old, in the ſame character as the MS. ſacramentary, entitled, *Miſſa S. Columbani*, in the advocates library at *Edinburgh*.

AND I doubt not, but if I had been able to travel, and been allowed freedom to go through the kingdom into the ancient ſeats of others of our nobility and gentry, I might have met with others of that kind. For what were ſaved of the monuments of hiſtory, ſuch as ſome of the copies of the *Scotichronicon*, and a few others, owed their preſervation to the care of ſome noblemen or gentlemen, into whoſe hands they happened to fall, when all was going to wreck.

4°. IN *England* the reformation, as to religious places, was carried on gradually by certain ſteps,

and thoſe authorized by publick acts of parliament or commiſſions: all which were as many warnings to thoſe concerned, to prepare againſt the ſtorm. In *Scotland* nothing contributed more to the general loſs of records, MSS. and monuments of hiſtory, than that ſudden and unforeſeen invaſion, plundering, and burning of religious houſes: like a hurricane, or violent ſtorm, that drove all before it, before any body, but the contrivers, was aware; and what is moſt to be lamented, this ſtorm fell more violently and more ſuddenly on theſe religious places which were the chief repoſitories of ancient records and MSS. and which being more remote from the invaſions of *England*, had been, till then, preſerved more entire. To inſtance in a few examples.

In St. *Andrew*'s, as being the metropolitan church, were kept the chief eccleſiaſtical records of the kingdom; and being the moſt ancient ſeat, and in great veneration even in the time of the *Pictiſh* kings, the moſt ancient records or hiſtories, both of the *Picts* and *Scots*, were more ſafely preſerved there than any where elſe, being moſt remote from the ordinary ſeat of war. And now of all thoſe ancient monuments, we hear not of any other remaining, but one or two chartularies. The reaſon is obvious, *John Knox* himſelf (*a*), who carried on the work, tells us the reformation at

(*a*) Knox's Hiſt. p. 150.

Andrew's, that is, the ranſacking ſome churches, and razing others, was carried on, all on a ſudden, with expedition, upon an exhortation which he himſelf made to the people, on our Saviour's driving the buyers and ſellers out of the temple, whereby he ſo (*a*) inflamed the rabble, that they went inſtantly to work, and made ſpoil of the churches, burnt the archives, and razed the monaſteries of the *Black* and *Grey Friers*.

SCOON was the place appointed for the coronation of our kings, where, till the time of king *James* I. all the great councils or parliaments uſed frequently to be held; and, by conſequence, where the accounts of all publick tranſactions were moſt likely to be preſerved: yet we have nothing left of all theſe ancient records; and no wonder, for on the 28th of *June* 1559, as (*b*) *Spotſwood* and (*c*) *John Knox* relate, the royal palace, and chiefly the church and abbey, were totally conſumed to aſhes by the furious reformers of *Dundee* and *Perth*: notwithſtanding that *Knox*, as he ſays, and others of the chief reformers, being content that the church was reformed, that is, ſpoiled and plundered, endeavoured to ſtop the fury of the mobb from burning the palace and church; but in vain. The people, once poſſeſſed by his declamations, that all ſuch places were to be

(*a*) Spotwood's Hiſt. p. 123, 124.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 125.
(*c*) Knox's Hiſt. p 155.

made ſacrifices of, were not to be ſtopt in the heat of their fury.

THE *Black Friers*, or *Dominicans* of *Perth*, *Domus fratrum prædicatorum de Perth*, was famous for being the ordinary place of meeting of all our national councils, which by an order ſettled above five hundred years ago, were to be yearly kept by all the biſhops and clergy of the kingdom; and whereof we have on record an account of many ſuch councils held anciently in *Scotland*, both in that church, and in others. I ſhall ſubjoin to this §. an index of the dates of ſuch of theſe councils, as I have met with on record; but, except the copy of the canons preſerved in a chartulary of *Aberdeen*, I could never as yet hear of the acts or canons of any of them before the year 1549. The reaſon is plain, theſe acts and canons, beſides the authentick copies depoſited in St. *Andrew*'s, and other churches, were of courſe kept in the archives of this convent of the *Dominicans* of *Perth*, to be repreſented at each council. Now this convent and church ſuffered the ſame calamity as that of St. *Andrew*'s, or rather a greater, with no leſs expedition and ſuddenneſs. Upon the 11th of *May* 1559, the reformers being aſſembled in arms againſt their ſovereign at *Perth*, after a vehement declamation of *John Knox* againſt churches and convents, as monuments of idolatry, and inforcing the commandment of God for deſtroying all ſuch places, the rabble roſe and deſtroyed

ſtroyed not only this convent and church of the *Black Friers*, but thoſe of the *Grey Friers*, and of the charter-houſe, or *Carthuſians*, (a building, ſays (*a*) *Knox*, of wonderous coſt and greatneſs) all theſe were ſo deſtroyed, that in two days time the walls only remained of all theſe ſtately edifices. It is *Knox* himſelf who hounded out, or led on the furious mobb in this wretched expedition, that hath thought fit to record it, with many other ſuch noble exploits, more becoming the *Goths* or *Vandals*, than an apoſtolical man, as he pretended to be. This made *Johnſton*, a zealous proteſtant writer, but a lover of his country, ſpeaking of the miſchiefs that *Knox* occaſioned to the kingdom, characterize him as a man (*b*) *famous for the burning of churches, and for the renewing*, in his native country, *the barbarous devaſtation of the* Vandals, *&c.*

THESE were a part of the exploits of our reformers, againſt all ancient religious monuments of their native country, performed in the firſt year of their ſetting up, and may be chiefly attributed to the rabble, inflamed by the violent de-

(*a*) Knox's Hiſt. p. 136, 137.

(*b*) Verum enimvero Johannes Knoxius templorum incendiis, & Wandalica vaſtitate notiſſimus, qui priſcæ pietatis monumenta, obtentu religionis diruit, companas & plumbea eccleſiarum tecta ſacrilega rapacitate invaſit, inteſtinis diſſidiis accendendis acerrimam fæcem prætulit. *Rob. Johnſton hiſt. rerum Britan. Amſtelod.* 1655. *p.* 2. *p.* 40.

clamations

clamations of their new preachers. But, as if the fate of the new reformation had depended on abolishing all memory of antiquity in the kingdom, the exploits of the second year were more fatal to all remains of ancient monuments, records, or history, than all that had hitherto happened.

THE leading men of the reformation met together in their usual manner, without the commission or authority of their sovereign; and, among other acts, *passed one*, says archbishop (a) *Spotswood*, *for demolishing cloisters and abbey churches, such as were not yet pulled down; the execution whereof was committed* to the most violent men of the party; *for the west, to the earls of* Arran, Glencarn, &c. *for the north, to the lord* James Priour *of St.* Andrew's; *and for the in-countries, to some barons who were held the most zealous.*

THEREUPON, adds the same writer, *ensued a pitiful devastation of churches, and church-buildings, throughout all parts of the kingdom; for every one made bold to put their hands; the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater. No difference was made, but all churches either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else they could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale: the very sepulchres of the dead were not spared*; and, among others,

(a) Spotswood, p. 174, 175.

those

theſe of all our kings and queens ſince king *Malcolm* III. at *Dumferlin*, and elſewhere; as at *Scoon*, *Arbroth*, *Melros*, the charter-houſe of *Perth*, &c. inſomuch, that of all our kings and queens, there is not ſo much as one monument left entire within *Scotland*.

THE regiſters of the churches and bibliothecks, or libraries, were caſt into the fire, ſays *Spotſwood*, and theſe were ſo entirely deſtroyed, that if in *Scotland* there had happened a debate, ſuch as lately in *England*, (into which I do not enter) about the conſecrations or ordinations of biſhops and prieſts, either before or about the time of the reformation: I do not believe, that of all our ancient biſhops and prieſts, ordained within the country, there could have been found the regiſter or act of conſecration or ordination of any one of them. So careful were our firſt reformers to ſweep clean away all that could renew the memory of the religion in which they had been baptized, and all that belonged to it. Of which it were eaſy to give ſurprizing inſtances: but this is a ſufficient one, of the difference betwixt the violent manner in which the reformation, as to all old MSS. or records, was carried on in *Scotland*, and the moderate courſe, which was followed in *England*; in which, during this late debate concerning ordination of biſhops, ſo many publick acts and regiſters of churches have been produced.

NOW

Now as no body, that hath the leaſt tincture of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, can doubt, but that in all the cathedral churches of *Scotland*, in former times, beſides the archives, where the proper records of each church were preſerved, there were regiſters of all ordinations of prieſts and inferior miniſters, and of all other eccleſiaſtical acts belonging to that dioceſe: that at St. *Andrew*'s, the metropolitan church, beſides the archives where all the records and rights of the church, ſuch as bulls of popes, charters of the kings; all eccleſiaſtical acts, ſuch as thoſe of national councils, of *Dioceſan* ſynods, of proceſſes in the eccleſiaſtical court, *&c.* were preſerved; there were alſo regiſters where all the conſecrations of biſhops within the province, or within the kingdom; all ordinations, diſpenſations, *&c.* were in courſe recorded: and though ſince the time of the reformation, all theſe original records are no leſs entirely and univerſally diſappeared, than if they never had been: (excepting ſome of the chartularies) yet no perſon of underſtanding would conclude, from the preſent want, that there never had been any ſuch original records, or regiſters in *Scotland.*

In like manner it were very unreaſonable, after all the diſaſters which have happened to our MSS. of all kinds, to conclude, from the few remains there are of our ancient hiſtories and chronicles, that there

there were not anciently as many of that kind proportionably in *Scotland*, as in other countries; for it was not barely eccleſiaſtical monuments that ſuffered in the times of our reformation; for ſince abbeys, convents, and churches, where our chronicles and other hiſtorical monuments uſed to be written and preſerved, were burnt or deſtroyed, and that generally on a ſudden, and without forewarning, ſo as that nothing could be removed or ſecured; it cannot be eaſily conceived how many valuable records or monuments of all kinds periſhed in their ruins.

FOR in a word, ſays (a) *Spotſwood*, *all was ruined*; *and what had eſcaped the firſt tumult*, *did now undergo the common calamity*, *which was ſo much the worſe*; *that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of* an apparent *publick authority*. Thus archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, and more to this purpoſe, where he lays the blame chiefly on *Knox*, and others of the firſt preachers of the reformation; and on their miſapplying ſcripture texts to excite the people to react, in their native country, the part that the *Goths* and *Vandals* had acted on the *Roman* empire.

BUT what is farther to be regreted, and deſerves to be particularly taken notice of, in this

(a) Spotſwood, p. 175.

pro-

promiſcuous burning of religious houſes, with the regiſters and libraries of churches, is that beſides thoſe hiſtorical and other records that might have been known, and valued by the churchmen, or religious, who were the inhabitants and poſſeſſors of theſe churches or convents, it frequently happened that in the libraries of the churches and monaſteries of ancient eſtabliſhments there were old chronicles, records, acts and decisions of councils, and other valuable monuments, civil and eccleſiaſtical, of which the actual poſſeſſors of theſe churches or convents, (eſpecially in thoſe days when there was no knowledge of critical learning, and as little taſte of antiquity) either took no notice, or were not skilled enough to know the true value of them. Nor was this ignorance and neglect of ancient monuments, peculiar to many churchmen and religious men in *Scotland*, in the ages preceding the reformation; but too common in all other countries in thoſe days, and even in after-times.

THUS we have ſeen in the laſt age, when the true taſte of antiquity, of critical learning, and of diſcernment of genuine ancient MSS. revived, how many valuable monuments of hiſtory, of councils, of fathers, of eccleſiaſtical writers, and other pieces of all kinds; ſome of them whoſe names and titles had never been known or heard of, out of the houſes where they had been at firſt compoſed; others that were believed to

have been loſt, how many ſuch valuable monuments have been diſcovered; and, if I may ſay ſo, dug up from the bottom of old libraries, in monaſteries and churches, where they had lain buried, ſometimes unknown to their poſſeſſors: and this particularly by the labours, skill and diligence of ſuch men, as *Dacherius*, *Caniſius*, *Mabillon*, *Baluze*, *Labbe*, *Martene*, and many others abroad, who have enriched, and daily continue to enrich the republick of letters with ſo many volumes of collections of ancient monuments of all kinds, and among theſe, ſo many ancient chronicles and annals, which had never been known out of the houſes where they were found, and had infallibly periſhed with them, without ever being heard of, had they met with the fate of the churches and abbeys of *Scotland*.

AND not to go out of *Britain*, whence have we in *England*, the *Decem* and the *Quindecem Scriptores*, the *Anglica*, *Normanica*, &c. publiſhed by *Camden*, the collection of councils in two volumes by *Spelman*, thoſe in *Anglia Sacra* in other two, and other ſuch ancient monuments; but from the remains of the libraries of the churches and monaſteries? Several of which had never been known or heard of, even as to their names and titles, no more than thoſe in *Scotland*, had not *Leland* made his literary voyages and ſearches, and had the *Engliſh* monaſteries and churches met with ſuch thorow reformers as thoſe in *Scotland*.

HAD

HAD our ancient churches, abbeys and convents, with their libraries, ſtood till theſe times that the taſte and value of the genuine monuments of antiquity is renewed in our country, as elſewhere; what might not, for example, have been found at *Abernethy*, the moſt ancient church in *Scotland*, and which had ſubſiſted from the firſt converſion of the *Picts* in the fifth and ſixth age, which had a proper chronicle (*a*) of its own, (mentioned in the *Scotichronicon*, but periſhed now with the reſt) and where the *Keledees* remained till the later end of the thirteenth age; in *Kilrimund*, or St. *Andrew*'s, in *Dunkeld*, in the priory of the *Lochleven*: all which were already famous in the *Pictiſh* times: what remains might not have been found in all theſe of the *Pictiſh* hiſtorical monuments; and of the *Scotiſh* in the ſame, as well as in *Scoon*, *Dunfermlin*, St. *Colmſinch*, *Reſtennot*, &c. And if the zeal of our reformers muſt needs ruin theſe ſtately edifices, (according to *John Knox*'s famous maxim, *That the ſureſt means to hinder the rooks to come back, was to burn their neſts*) at leaſt had the libraries and MSS. been preſerved, or had there been deputed, before they were deſtroyed, antiquaries, ſuch as *Leland* in *England*, that knew the true value of ancient pieces, to inſpect and make catalogues of them, to preſerve and

(*a*) Scotichron. Paſlæten. lib. 4. c. 12. in Biblioth. Regia Londin.

put in ſafety the more precious, *&c.* Had we had in the heat of this new kind of reforming the church, when ſo many valuable pieces of antiquity, that had eſcaped the fire, were ſold for almoſt nothing to the book-binders, grocers, *&c.* Had we had in thoſe days men of the fine taſte and temper of Sir *Robert Cotton*, and others in *England*, who preſerved ſo many of thoſe perſecuted remains and monuments of their forefathers piety and glory: nay, had we then had men of ſuch a publick ſpirit, as ſome in our own time, I doubt not but we might in that caſe have had collections of *Scotiſh* ancient monuments, no leſs valuable for *Scotland*, than thoſe of the *Cotton* library and others are for *England*, eſpecially of eccleſiaſtical matters; after which, it appears that king *Edward* I. in his ſearches had not deſignedly enquired: ſo they remained much more entire, till the time of the reformation, than what concerned the civil hiſtory.

And now 'tis eaſy to perceive the vaſt diſparity there was as to the loſs or preſervation of records, and all ſort of MSS. betwixt the manner in which the reformation was carried on in *England*, and that in which it was hurried on in *Scotland*; and that whatever plenty there might have been in former times in *Scotland*, of hiſtorical, eccleſiaſtical, or other monuments of antiquity, it is rather a wonder that any at all ſhould have remained, than that there ſhould be ſo very few

in compariſon of what have been preſerved in *England.*

AND after this account of the fate of our ancient monuments of this kind, eſpecially thoſe of eccleſiaſtical matters, I think I need not inſiſt upon refuting the groundleſs ſtory of their having been tranſported abroad by the ancient churchmen, or religious men, at the time of the reformation; for, excepting a part of the records of *Glaſgo*, with the two chartularies, ſaved by the archbiſhop *James Beaton*, it was never as yet heard that any of our countrymen have met with any thing conſiderable of that kind in any foreign country: though within theſe laſt hundred years, and upwards, ſince the truth of our antiquities, as ſet down by *Boece*, hath been violently conteſted, and many other warm diſputes betwixt the *Scots* and the *Iriſh*, ſeveral of the moſt learned of our countrymen have uſed all poſſible diligence in ſearching every where abroad, after all remains of our hiſtory or antiquities. Such were *Thomas Dempſtar*, ſo famous for his conteſts and debates with the *Iriſh*; *George Conné*, a *Roman* prelate; *David Chambers*, and others, all of them in great credit at *Rome*, and elſewhere abroad. We have had others that have ſearched through *Flanders* and *Germany*; and of late the learned Dr. *John Jameſone*, who lived many years in *Rome*, and had acceſs to all their libraries, and ſearched with zeal every where both in *Italy* and *France*, yet

yet never could hear of any conſiderable monument concerning *Scotland*, except, what every body knows, of the above-mentioned charters or writs of the church of *Glaſgo* at *Paris*; and a hiſtory of the *Abbots* of *Kinlos* in *Murray*, written by *Fererius Pedemontanus*, the continuator of *Boece*'s hiſtory. Others of late have made farther ſearches abroad in the ſame view: ſo that there appears no other ground for that ſtory, of the tranſportation of ancient *Scotiſh* hiſtories, or other monuments, but the care and zeal of the aforeſaid archbiſhop of *Glaſgo*, to ſave what he could of thoſe of his church from the common fate of all the reſt. It had been indeed to be wiſhed, that his example had been followed by other prelates, churchmen, or religious men of thoſe times; but by all that hath yet been diſcovered, there is little or no appearance that he had any conſiderable imitators: beſides that, it muſt be conſidered, that this violent burning and deſtroying all churches, with their records and monuments, came on ſo ſuddenly, as we have obſerved, and was carried on with ſo great impetuoſity, that thoſe among the churchmen or religious men, who remained firm in the old religion, had difficulty to provide for their own ſafety, and were not in a condition to ſave any thing elſe.

AFTER this melancholy relation of the deſtruction of hiſtorical, and of all kind of ancient monuments at our reformation, which fell heavieſt

on thoſe that concerned the church, it remains now to give ſome ſhort account of ſuch ancient pieces that eſcaped the zeal of thoſe times. And, in the firſt place, ſome of the *Scotichronicons*, and other hiſtorical pieces, were ſaved by ſome curious men, lovers of the honour of their country, into whoſe hands they happened to fall when all was going to wreck. It was alſo by the ſame means that ſome of the chartularies of four of the cathedral churches, (beſides the two of *Glaſgo* ſaved by the archbiſhop *James Beaton*) were preſerved; to wit, thoſe of St. *Andrew*'s, of *Murray*, of *Aberdeen*, and of *Brechin*. But the chartularies of the other eight cathedrals, together with the original writs or charters, records and regiſters of all of them, periſhed in the manner that (*a*) *Spotſwood* hath related.

BUT it appears, that no kind of monuments had ſo good a luck to eſcape, as many of the chartularies of the abbeys: and there were particular motives for ſaving of them, preferably to any other monuments of eccleſiaſtical antiquities. For almoſt the only pieces, I may ſay in general all that they contain, are the authentick copies of the temporal lands, poſſeſſions and juriſdictions that anciently belonged to theſe religious houſes, or churches, whoſe chartularies they are; ſuch as the bulls, charters or writs of their foundations,

(*a*) Supra pag. 486.

and

donations, confirmations, *&c.* by the popes, kings, bishops, nobility, *&c.*

Now 'tis to be obſerved, that the firſt preachers of our *Scotiſh* reformation had carried to that height their invectives againſt the old churchmen, and religious men of thoſe times, and againſt the riches and poſſeſſions of churches and convents, (towards which, to ſpeak the truth, the abuſes of thoſe times furniſhed them too great a handle) that they condemned all the ancient foundations and donations of lands and revenues, made to churches or convents, as ſinful; and as being given towards ſuperſtitious uſes, and therefore to be reformed away. On the other hand, in their declamations againſt the avarice of churchmen, in performing their functions, to render them more odious to the people, they themſelves in the beginning ſpoke the language of men who aimed at no worldly ſettlement, but purely at the glory of God and ſalvation of ſouls; and as they gave themſelves out for men extraordinarily raiſed up to re-eſtabliſh the doctrine of the apoſtles and apoſtolical men, ſo the people were at firſt made to believe that theſe new preachers would equally imitate the apoſtles and their diſciples, in looking no farther than their daily bread, and depending entirely on providence for their ſubſiſtance; this gained over to them numbers of people: and this cant laſted till the aſſembly held in *Auguſt* 1560, called by that party a parliament, in which the

firſt acts were made againſt the old religion, and in favour of the reformation. And from thenceforth the preachers changed their note, and they began immediately to cry for ſtipends, and in proportion, as their credit was eſtabliſhed, to lay claim to the old church-lands and poſſeſſions, as ſacred things given irrevocably to God, and which could not be lawfully diſponed, but for ſettling of the miniſters, or to charitable uſes, at their diſpoſal (*a*). But in this they were over-ruled by more powerful pretenders.

FOR many of the nobility and gentry over the kingdom, that had embraced the reformation, had heard and received, with no leſs pleaſure, the inſtructions of the firſt preachers of it, concerning the abuſe and miſapplication of ſo much riches, and ſo many temporal lands and baronies diſponed to abbeys and churches for uſes, they had been informed, were ſuperſtitious; and being thus eaſily perſuaded that all theſe foundations and donations of churches and convents were null, and of no effect from the beginning; and by conſequence, that they reverted in courſe to the ſovereign, to the nobility, or to the heirs of the firſt founders and donors; upon this, ſome of thoſe among them that had been the moſt zealous promoters of the

(*a*) See *Knox's Hiſt.* edit. *in fol.* p. 319, 320, 325, 326, 339, 349, &c. and the acts of the firſt general aſſembly *December* 1560; and the following aſſemblies.

work-

work of the reformation, were among the firſt to get into the poſſeſſion of the temporals of the abbeys and churches, partly as having been, by a miſtaken zeal, laviſhed away by their predeceſſors to bad uſes; partly by obtaining a gift, and generally, for greater ſecurity, a confirmation of them from the ſovereign, to whom they ſuppoſed they were by right returned, as to the chief founder: and queen *Mary*, to be able to enjoy ſome freedom, peace, and quietneſs amidſt the diſaffected and divided parties, ſhe found in the kingdom at her return from *France*, was liberal enough to them all, in her conceſſions and grants of church-lands.

NOW the original writs or charters of the foundations and donations of the lands of the abbeys and churches, having been for the moſt part deſtroyed over the kingdom, together with the religious houſes and churches themſelves, as we have ſeen; and the only remaining authentick copies or duplicates of all theſe writs being contained in the chartularies of thoſe abbeys or churches, thoſe chartularies came to be in eſteem, were carefully ſought among the ſpoils of thoſe religious houſes, and ſaved chiefly by thoſe that had obtained the poſſeſſion of their temporality, as containing a kind of progreſs of writs, or as being ſo many authentick land-books, in which an exact indication and enumeration of all that had belonged to theſe abbeys and churches was to be found. And thus ſo many of them are ſtill

remaining; for there being generally ſeveral copies of the chartularies of each abbey, ſome of them eſcaped the common fate, and were eaſily to be found in thoſe days.

THERE are ſtill remaining a ſufficient number of them, which, if put together, and printed, would make at leaſt one large volume of a *Monaſticon Scoticanum*, and be of great uſe towards the illuſtration of the ancient families of the nobility and gentry of that kingdom, eſpecially during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth age; and that is now the chief, or only uſe of them; for they ſerve very little towards giving light into the affairs of the church, moſt part of all that they contain being writs of foundations, donations, and other rights of the temporal lands of the churches and abbeys. However, they being very curious and uſeful towards giving light into ancient families, in order to preſerve them, many of them have been of late acquired by the honourable and learned gentlemen of the faculty of advocates at *Edinburgh*, who, out of zeal for their country, have ſpared no expence to buy up, at any rate, and preſerve from periſhing, thoſe and many other precious remains of the hiſtory and antiquities of *Scotland*, and placed them in their library, conſiſting of a great collection of printed books; all which, for the improvement of learning in their country, they have generouſly ordered to be open to all learned and curious men.

BUT

BUT no private family hath ſhewn greater zeal for retrieving the hiſtorical and other ancient monuments of their country, than that of *Panmure*; which, beſides an ancient *Scotichronicon*, is in poſſeſſion of the original chartularies of St. *Andrew*'s, and of *Brechin*, and of copies of almoſt all the other chartularies remaining, with a rare collection of many original writs of the abbeys and other valuable monuments: all which the preſent chief of that noble family was pleaſed to communicate to me, with ſingular marks of kindneſs, during the time I ſtaid at *Edinburgh*.

HAD there been, in the days of the reformation, (when ſo many precious monuments of our antiquities were daily periſhing, or put to ſale for waſte paper or parchment) men of ſuch a publick ſpirit as theſe, and as zealous for the honour of our country, in that caſe, inſtead of this long and lamentable enumeration of the loſs of ancient monuments, that our country made in thoſe times of confuſion, I ſhould have had the pleaſure to have had to ſet down here a detailed account or catalogue of the many valuable MSS. of our civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſtill preſerved; and, among others, of the acts and canons of our national councils: whereof we have now remaining only the dates of a few of them: which, as I promiſed before, I ſhall here ſubjoin, both as a further proof of the loſs that our antiquities have

ſuſtained

ſuſtained from blind zealots, and to confirm what I have here advanced, that the few remains we have now of ancient monuments is no argument that we had not, before the reformation, as many in proportion as our neighbours; and in order alſo, towards the furniſhing materials for an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of *Scotland*, to excite the learned among our countrymen to make farther enquiry for any thing of this kind, that may ſtill remain undiſcovered, and unknown in private hands, as that precious collection of canons in the chartulary of *Aberdeen*, in the advocates library, had done for ſo many years, till they diſcovered and bought it up. For the canons and regulations of national or provincial councils, are ſo eſſential an ingredient into the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of any country, that without ſome account of them, it muſt needs appear almoſt a skeleton.

A Chrono-

A Chronological Index of ſuch of the National Councils of the Church of Scotland, *as I have found mentioned in Hiſtory and Records.*

I. THE firſt of this kind that I find recorded in hiſtory, was under the reign of king *Keneth Mac Alpin*, about the year of our Lord 850: among theſe laws, which (*a*) *Fordun* calls *Leges Macalpinæ*, as they are ſet down by (*b*) *Boece*, there are ſome ſtatutes concerning eccleſiaſtical matters, which were no doubt made in an aſſembly with the concurrence of the biſhops, as it was the univerſal diſcipline of the church in thoſe times, that no eccleſiaſtical laws could be enacted without epiſcopal authority and concurrence. And tho' we have now no farther accounts of theſe laws, than what the two above-mentioned writers and *Winton* contain, it cannot be reaſonably doubted of, but that this victorious king would not fail, upon the union of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kingdoms, after the confuſions of war were over, to make new laws for his united kingdoms, proper to heal all inteſtine diſcords. It is moſt likely, that theſe laws were

(*a*) Fordun, lib. 4. c. 8. p. 293. edit. Hearn.
(*b*) Boeth. Hiſt. fol. 208. 1ſt edit.

made

made at *Scoon*, where king *Keneth* had ſettled the chief ſeat of his united kingdoms.

II. WE have a more certain account of another council or aſſembly, holden alſo at *Scoon*, (*a*). *the ſixth year of the reign of our king* Conſtantin, *ſon of* Eth, (A. D. 906) in which this *king* Conſtantin, *and* Kellach *the biſhop, with the* Scots, *ſolemnly vowed to obſerve the laws and diſcipline of faith, the rights of the churches, and of the goſpel, on a little hill, called from thence* Collis credulitatis (*Knoc-creidimh*, I ſuppoſe, in the vulgar language) *near the royal city of* Scoon. 'Tis like it was the ſame place ſo famous afterwards by the name of the *Mute-Hill of Scoon*; in *Latin*, *Omnis terra*. *Vid. Skein's Gloſſary.*

III. DURING the reign of *Malcolm Keanmore*, about *A. D.* 1073, or 1074, ſeveral national councils were held in *Scotland* by the pious zeal of his royal conſort St. *Margaret*, as *Turgot*, (who, 'tis like, aſſiſted himſelf at theſe councils) relates in her life, for the re-eſtabliſhing eccleſiaſtical diſci-

(*a*) In vi. anno (regni ſui) Conſtantinus rex [*filius Edii*] & Kellachus epiſcopus leges diſciplinaſque fidei, atque jura eccleſiarum, evangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis in colle credulitatis prope regali civitate Scoan (ſic) devoverunt cuſtodiri: ab hoc die collis hoc [*nomen*] meruit, *i. e.* collis credulitatis. *V. Append. n.* 3.

(*b*) Vita S. Margaretæ reginæ in actis ſanctor. Boland. ad 10 Jun.

—pline, and the reformation of manners. Some extracts of the canons of theſe councils are ſet down by *Turgot*. But the whole acts and canons at length were no doubt depoſited either at *Dunfermlin*, founded in this reign, or at St. *Andrew*'s.

IV. *A. D.* 1126, under the reign of king *David* I. a council holden at *Roxburgh* by the cardinal-legate *John* of *Crema*. *Decem Scriptores Angliæ*, *col.* 252.

V. *A. D.* 1138, in the ſame reign, another national council of the biſhops of *Scotland*, holden by the legate *Alberic* at *Carliſle*, where, in thoſe days, king *David* kept ordinarily his court. *Decem Scriptores Angl. col.* 264.

VI. *A. D.* 1177, a national council at *Edinburgh*, holden by the cardinal legate *Winian*, with the biſhops of *Scotland*, in which many ancient canons were renewed, and new ones enacted. *Chron. Maylr. hoc anno & Fordun edit. Hearne*, *p.* 714.

VII. *A. D.* 1201, in *December*, a national council was holden at *Perth* by *John de Salerno*, cardinal-legate, in which many canons were made. *Chr. Maylr. Houeden. p.* 468, *&c.*

VIII. *A. D.* 1206, a national council, (called in the original writ *Synodus Generalis*) holden at *Perth* in *April*. *Ex charta penes Vicecomitem de Arbuthnot.*

IX. *A. D.*

IX. *A. D.* 1211, a national council holden at *Perth* by *William* biſhop of St. *Andrew's*, *Walter* biſhop of *Glaſgo*, and the other biſhops of *Scotland*. *Scotichron. Paſtaten. in biblioth. Regia Londin. lib.* ix. *c.* 78.

X. *A. D.* 1221, *James* canon of St. *Victor* at *Paris*, penitentiary of the pope, and legate to *Scotland*, held a national council of all the prelates of *Scotland* at *Perth*, during four days in the month of *February*. *Scotichron. idem. lib.* ix. *c.* 37.

A. D. 1225, a mandate of pope *Honorius* III. the 19th of *May*, the ninth of his pontificate, to all the biſhops of *Scotland*; by which, after having told them, that whereas he had been informed by ſome of them, that for want of a metropolitan, by whoſe authority they might regularly hold provincial councils, the canons were not duly obſerved, and many other abuſes happened; therefore he enjoins them, that ſince they had not a metropolitan, they ſhould convene, by his authority, to celebrate provincial councils, which, ſays the pope, ought not to be omitted. *Ex Chartular. vet. Moravien. fol.* 11. *& Chartular. Aberdon. fol.* 25. *in Biblioth. Jurid. Edinb.*

XI. In conſequence of this mandate, and upon receiving it, the biſhops held a (*a*) national or provincial

(*a*) Statuta generalia eccleſiæ Scotlcanæ, can. 1. in Chartul. Aberd. ſupra.

vincial council of all the prelates of the kingdom, in which they regulated the form of holding it; and enacted, 1°. That, according to the (*a*) canons of the church, a provincial council ſhould be holden every year, at which all the biſhops, abbots, and priors, ſhould aſſiſt, to regulate all eccleſiaſtical affairs. 2°. That at each (*b*) council a *conſervator*, being one of the biſhops, ſhould be choſen by common conſent to preſide inſtead of a metropolitan; and who, in that quality, ſhould puniſh all tranſgreſſors of the ſtatutes of the councils, and by the authority of the ſame. 3°. That (*c*) at each council the biſhops ſhould preach by turns, beginning by the biſhop of St. *Andrew's*, *&c.*

XII. In the chartulary of *Murray* we have an account of another national council, indicted to be holden (*d*) *in domo fratrum prædicatorum de Perth*, on *Wedneſday* before the feaſt of St. *Luke*, in *October*, but without the date of the year; only it muſt have been ſome years after *A. D.* 1230, when the *Black Friers* firſt came into *Scotland*. However, in this act we have the form of the biſhop conſervator his indicting or convocating the yearly council, *authoritate conſervatoria*, as the act bears, by a letter to each biſhop, charging him to give his

(*a*) Ibid.
(*b*) Ibid. can. 2.
(*c*) Ibid.
(*d*) Chartul. vet. Moravien. fol. 93, in Bibl. Jurid. Ed.

preſence

preſence at ſuch a place, (which was commonly the convent of the *Black Friers* of *Perth*) on ſuch a day, with continuation of days; together with the abbots and priors, the proctors of chapters, colleges and convents of his dioceſe; there to treat of the reformation of the ſtate of the church, *&c.*

I call all theſe councils *national*, becauſe they were compoſed of the biſhops, prelates, proctors of the chapters, and of all the clergy of the kingdom, though in the preciſe language of the canon law, theſe councils being held by the biſhop conſervator, inſtead of a metropolitan; and ſo by an archiepiſcopal authority, according to the pope's mandate, they are called by the pope and by the biſhops themſelves *provincial* councils; and by our parliaments *general*, or *general-provincial* councils.

XIII. *A. D.* 1239, the cardinal-legate *Otho*, having at laſt obtained leave of king *Alexander* II. (who (*a*) two years before had abſolutely refuſed to ſuffer any legate to enter his kingdom) came into *Scotland* about the end of *September*, held a national council at *Edinburgh* the 19th day of *October*, and departed in the beginning of *November*. *Scotichr. Paſſat. lib.* ix. *c.* 54.

XIV. *A. D.* 1242, a national council held at *Perth*. *Scotichr. Paſſat. lib.* ix. *c.* 59.

(*a*) Matth. Pariſ. p. 301.

XV. *A. D.*

XV. *A. D.* 1268, *Othobon*, cardinal-legate in *England*, cited the biſhops of *Scotland* to a council, which he was to hold in *England*; two of them went as deputies from the reſt, but refuſed to accept of the canons of his council; and being returned home, they, with all the reſt of the biſhops and clergy of *Scotland*, held a national council of their own, in their uſual manner, at *Perth*. *Scotichr. lib.* x. *c.* 25.

XVI. *A. D.* 1273, a national council at *Perth*. *Scotichr. lib.* x. *c.* 33.

XVII. *A. D.* 1275, a national council at *Perth*, in preſence of *Bagimond* the pope's nuncio, who came to collect the taxations of all benefices, and ſettled a roll of thoſe taxations that ſerved for a rule in following times, to which our acts of parliament (*a*) refer. *Scotichr. lib.* x. *c.* 35.

XVIII. *A. D.* 1280, a national council holden at the *Black Friers* of *Perth*, on *Monday* after St. *Bartholomew*'s day in *Auguſt*; mentioned in a ſentence of *Archbald* biſhop of *Murray* this year. *Chartular. vet. Eccl. Moravien. fol.* 46. *in bibl. Jurid. Edin.*

XIX. *A. D.* 1310, a national council holden at *Dundee*, in which, among other acts, king *Robert* I's

(*a*) Jam. III. parl. 6. c. 44. Jam. IV. parl. 4 c. 39.

right to the crown is aſſerted by all the biſhops and clergy of *Scotland*. *Independency by M. Anderſon, append. num.* 12.

XX. *A. D.* 1321, a national council holden at *Perth* in *July*, mentioned in the rolls of king *Robert* I. *n.* 85. *Ex Collect. Comitis de Panmure, p.* 65.

XXI. *A. D.* 1324, a national council holden in *March* at *Scoon*: it is called in the act, *Generale Concilium. Mentioned in a writ in the chartulary of Glaſgo of this year.*

XXII. *A. D.* 1420, a national council holden the 16th of *July*, at the *Black Friers* of *Perth*, by *William* biſhop of *Dunblain*, conſervator; and in that quality preſident of the council. There is an act of this council, concerning the *quotes* of teſtament; but the act is more conſiderable, becauſe it deſcribes the form of the council, which is there called *Synodus Provincialis & Concilium generale Cleri Regni Scotiæ*, with the names of the biſhops preſent in perſon, or by procurator, *&c.* Among other things it appears, that the decrees or ſtatutes were ſealed by all the biſhops ſeals. *This act is in the original chartulary of Brechin penes Comitem de Panmure, fol.* 62.

XXIII. *A. D.* 1457, a national council at *Perth* in which, among other acts, a declaration was made concerning the king's right of nomination to

to benefices during vacancies of biſhopricks, &c. *Records of parliament of king James* III. *fol.* 75.

XXIV. *A. D.* 1459, a national council holden in *July*, at *Perth*, by *Thomas* biſhop of *Aberdeen*, conſervator; and in that quality preſident of the council: in which the aforeſaid declaration was renewed. *Records of parliament as above.*

XXV. *A. D.* 1487, I find, in a chartulary of *Arbroth*, a deputation made by the abbot and convent of that abbey, of procurators to aſſiſt at a general or national council, to be holden this year at St. *Andrew*'s. *Chartular. maj. Aberbroth, fol.* 115. *in Bibl. Jurid. Edinb.*

XXVI. *A. D.* 1512, a national council holden at *Edinburgh*. *Mentioned by biſhop Leſly in his hiſtory of Scotland, p.* 356.

XXVII. *A. D.* 1536, a national, or as it is called in the act, a general provincial council of *Scotland*, to be holden the 1ſt day of *March* next to come, 1536, in the *Black Friers* at *Edinburgh*, by the archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s; ordered by act of parliament, in *Jan.* 1535. *Records of parliament of king James* V. *fol.* 8.

XXVIII. *A. D.* 1546, a national council holden at *Edinburgh*, by cardinal *Beaton*, archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and primate, for the reformation of the

lives and manners of churchmen. *Buchanan's Hiſt. lib.* 15.

XXIX. *A. D.* 1549, a national council begun at *Lithgo* in *Auguſt*, and transferred in *September* to *Edinburgh*, holden by *John Hamilton*, archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's*, and primate for reformation of the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

XXX. *A. D.* 1552, a national council holden at *Edinburgh*, in *January*, by the ſame archbiſhop. It was in this council that the large catechiſm, printed at St. *Andrew's* in *Auguſt* following, by this archbiſhop's order, was approved. *Leſl. Hiſt. p.* 476.

XXXI. *A. D.* 1559, the laſt national council of *Scotland*, holden at *Edinburgh* in *March*, by the ſame archbiſhop, for reformation of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. *Leſl. Hiſt. p.* 504, 505.

THESE are the dates of ſuch of the national councils of *Scotland*, as I have hitherto had occaſion to obſerve in records or hiſtory; and though their number may appear not inconſiderable to thoſe who, by reaſon of the univerſal deſtruction of eccleſiaſtical acts and monuments within that kingdom, may have imagined that thoſe canonical aſſemblies had been extremely rare in our country; yet we have aſſured proof, that theſe thirty-one councils which I have remarked, are almoſt nothing in compariſon of the great number

of ſuch national aſſemblies that were holden in former ages: ſince it was (*a*) ſolemnly enacted, about five hundred years ago, by the whole biſhops and clergy aſſembled in council, according to the example of their predeceſſors, that a national or provincial council ſhould be holden *every year*, convocated by the biſhop conſervator for the time, at which all the clergy of the kingdom were to convene by themſelves, or by deputies, under pain of being proceeded againſt for their abſence, *&c.*

IT is eaſy to judge by this, that if the acts and canons of all theſe councils, which, as we ſee, were yearly to be aſſembled, had been preſerved entire, ſuch as they were before the reformation,

(*a*) Auctoritate Dei omnipotentis & ſacrorum canonum, ac ſacro ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ, nos prelati eccleſiæ Scoticanæ concilium provinciale noſtrorum prædeceſſorum more celebrantes, & laudibilem conſuetudinem obſervantes, unanimi conſenſu ſtatuimus & ordinamus ut SINGULIS ANNIS ſinguli epiſcopi & abbates ac prioratum priores in habitu ſolemni ad concilium celebrandum ad certum diem, per conſervatorem concilii ſibi competenter præfigendum, devotè conveniant, ut per triduum, ſi neceſſe fuerit, in eodem concilio valeant pro neceſſitatibus divinis & eccleſiaſticis commorari, & invocata ſpiritus ſancti gratia ſtatum eccleſiaſticum ibidem ad modum debitum & placentem Deo reformare. Si quis veto eorum canonica præpeditione fuerit impeditus, procuratorem vice ſua ſufficientem ſubſtituat. Non autem veniens perſonaliter, cum venire poſſet, & noluerit, auctoritate concilii & arbitrio puniatur. *Ex Statutis generalibus eccleſiæ Scoticanæ, cap.* 1. In Chartular. vet. Aberdon. in Biblioth. Jurid. Edinb.

we might have had this day not only two such as *Spelman*'s, but many volumes of national councils of *Scotland*; beſides ſo many other valuable eccleſiaſtical acts and monuments of all kinds: which had been proper materials for a hiſtory of the ancient church of that kingdom, which being now deprived of ſuch proper vouchers, can never come up to make a figure like to thoſe of other nations.

BUT to conclude this melancholy ſubject, at leaſt I hope that no reaſonable man, after conſidering all that hath been ſaid in this article, will henceforth, from the ſcarcityof civil and eccleſiaſtical monuments, under which the *Scots* at preſent labour, conclude that there muſt have been fewer of both kinds of thoſe monuments in paſt ages in *Scotland*, in proportion to its extent, than in other civilized and chriſtian countries.

ART. III. *An account of the monuments, writers, and records of the* Scotiſh *hiſtory that yet remain.*

I am now to give an account of the few hiſtorical pieces of our country, which, after all the diſaſters above-mentioned, ſtill remain, eſpecially of thoſe that are more ancient and leſs known; and in this account I ſhall endeavour to follow the order of the time, in which theſe pieces ſeem to have been written, and the various *Epochs* of our hiſtory, which they reſpect.

BUT

BUT to avoid uſeleſs repetitions, the learned Dr. *William Nicholſon*, late biſhop of *Londonderry*, having publiſhed an exact and impartial account of the *Scotiſh* hiſtorians, eſpecially from *Fordun* downwards; and the late Dr. *Mackenzie* having alſo treated, at great length, of the *Scotiſh* writers in general, I ſhall not inſiſt upon a ſubject which theſe learned gentlemen have ſo lately handled; but endeavour only to ſupply what may not have come under their conſideration; and ſhall confine myſelf to give an account of ſome ſhort pieces relating to the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, which are leſs known, or have been leſs taken notice of by thoſe that have treated the ſubject before, and chiefly give a more particular account of thoſe pieces that may give more light into the point I am about to examine; to wit, the time of the ſettlement of the *Scots*, and of the beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*.

IN treating this ſubject, I ſhall reduce all that remains of the domeſtick monuments of hiſtory, that have come to my knowledge, to four heads, or claſſes. Firſt claſs; remains of the ancient *Scotiſh* hiſtory antecedent to the year 1291. Second claſs; records or monuments of our ancient hiſtory, written betwixt the year 1291, and the publiſhing *John Fordun*'s hiſtory about the year 1447. Third claſs; of *John Fordun*'s hiſtory, his continuators, followers, and other writers of

our hiſtory, till the year 1526, in which Boece's hiſtory came out. Fourth claſs; of the hiſtories of *Hector Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers.

§. *Containing ſuch remains as we have of our ancient hiſtory, written before the year* 1291.

IT is not to be wondered at, that the remains we have of our ancient hiſtory, written before the year 1291, are very few and lame; ſince, beſides the diſaſters which happened in king *Edward* I's time, our poſteriour writers, with a view to make up that loſs, having framed to themſelves, as will afterwards appear, new ſchemes of our hiſtory, very different from our more ancient writers, it could not be expected that great care would be taken of the remains of theſe ancient chronicles, that did not agree with theſe new draughts of our hiſtory: ſo at beſt, ſuch of our old chronicles, or other hiſtorical monuments, which had eſcaped the ſearches in king *Edward*'s time, lay in the obſcurity of ſome corner of the libraries of our churches and monaſteries, with many other valuable ancient monuments oft-times unknown to their poſſeſſors, till the zeal of our new reformers burnt down and deſtroyed the churches and abbeys, with their libraries, and all that they contained, which had been, till thoſe times, preſerved.

SOME of theſe, which I am here to account for, are remains of that kind; and though they

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are all very ſhort, yet being written before the year 1291, whilſt our old annals were as yet ſubſiſting, and ſo being extracted from, or conformable to them, they appear to be the ſureſt guides that we can follow in order to have a true account of the ancient part of our hiſtory. The few that I have met with of them will be printed in the appendix to this eſſay, with ſome other ſhort ancient pieces relating to *Scotland*; of all which I ſhall here give a ſhort account, beginning at theſe pieces which have been more than once already mentioned.

I. THE firſt piece is a kind of deſcription of *Albany*, or of *Scotland*, on the north ſide of the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*; it bears in the MS. this title: *De ſitu Albani quæ in ſe figuram hominis habet; quomodo fuit primitus in ſeptem regionibus diviſa; quibuſque nominibus antiquitus ſit vocata, & a quibus inhabitata.* This ſhort treatiſe was written about the twelfth age, as appears by the author's aſſuring us, that he had a part of his information from *Andrew*, biſhop of *Catneſs*, who, according to the chronicle of *Mailros*, died *A. D.* 1185.

I think that there is ground to believe, that the author of this deſcription was *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, for I remember to have obſerved ſomewhere in his works, that he promiſes to give a deſcription of *Albany*, or *Scotland*; and *Andrew* biſhop of *Catneſs* may have ſeen him in *England* in king *David*'s time, or in that of his grandchildren, king *Malcolm*,

Malcolm, or king *William*, for *Andrew* was already biſhop, *A. D.* 1150. (as appears by a writ of the church of *Glaſgo*) beſides this, ſeveral paſſages of this deſcription are to be found, word for word, in *Ralph Higden*'s *Polychronicon* (*a*), as being taken from a work of *Girald*'s, which it ſeems is now loſt; and the terms in which the author ſpeaks of biſhop (*b*) *Andrew*, and ſome other expreſſions in this piece prove, that the author of it was no *Scotſman*. *Camden*, in his laſt editions of the deſcription of *Scotland*, hath given an extract of this piece, having no doubt ſeen the MS. from whence I copied it, in the lord *Burghleigh*'s library. It is the ſame already (*c*) mentioned, which was bought up by order of M. *Colbert*, and is now, as I am informed, with the reſt of the *Colbertin* MSS. in the king's library at *Paris*. The three following pieces are in the ſame MS. which alſo contains ſome other pieces relating to the hiſtory of *Britain*.

II. THE ſecond piece is intitled, in the MS. *Chronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum*. I have already (*d*) given an account of it; and have only to add, that there is prefixed to it a kind of preface, compoſed in part of paſſages of ſome *Britiſh* writers, and of *Iſidor* of *Seville*, which ſeems not to an-

(*a*) Polychron. edit. Reg. Gale, p. 185, 209.
(*b*) Andreas natione Scottus.
(*c*) Supra, p. 105.
(*d*) Ibid.

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ſwer the title of the piece in this preface, giving little or no true light into the origin of the *Picts*; and it is ſo incorrectly written, that it is hard enough to make ſenſe of ſome parts of it. What is truly valuable, is the body of the piece, being a chronicle, as it is called, or a catalogue of the ſeventy *Pictiſh* kings, from *Cruithne* to *Conſtantin*, with the reſt of them, down to the union of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kingdoms; and the laſt part of it, as it hath been already obſerved, is the exacteſt account of the ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings that is extant.

III. THE third piece is an extract of an ancient hiſtory, or chronicle of eleven of the kings of *Scotland*, containing their ſucceſſion, and a ſhort account of their lives and chief actions from the ſubjection of the *Picts* by king *Keneth-Mac-Alpin*, till the reign of king *Keneth* III. ſon to *Malcolm* I. during the ſpace of about one hundred and thirty years. The only copy I have ſeen of this ſhort chronicle is taken from the ſame MS. as the former, whence alſo *Camden* hath quoted ſome paſſages. The hiſtory or chronicle, from whence it hath been extracted, appears evidently to have been originally written in the *Gælick* or *Iriſh* language; and the mention that it makes of the ſucceſſion and deaths of ſome kings of *Ireland*; as alſo ſome particulars that it contains, (ſuch as the confuſed manner in which it relates king *Gre-* reign) all this makes me doubt whether it be

be not rather an extract of *Scotiſh* matters, from ſome *Iriſh* chronicle, than from a *Scotiſh* one. The *Latin* verſion, ſuch as we have it in this only MS. is moſt barbarous, and every way imperfect, and written by an ignorant tranſcriber, that hath not known the *Latin* tongue; and by conſequence is ſo incorrect, that in ſome places no ſenſe can be made of it. However, the piece containing ſome particulars of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, which are not to be met with in our common writers, and ſome remarkable paſſages, I ſhall give it, ſuch as it is, entire in the appendix (*a*).

IT was from this abſtract that *Camden* had the famous paſſage, *In hujus* [Indulfi Regis] *tempore oppidum Eden evacuatum eſt, ac relictum eſt Scottis uſque in hodiernum diem.* This paſſage was quoted from *Camden* firſt by biſhop *Uſher*, and after them by ſome other *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* writers, to endeavour to prove, that the *Saxons* were in poſſeſſion of *Lothian* till king *Indulf*'s time, about the middle of the tenth age: but beſides that, we have an account from *Giraldus* (*b*) *Cambrenſis*, no friend to the *Scots*, and from other authors, (probably as ancient as this anonymous writer) of whom *Ranulfus Ceſtrenſis* gives us extracts in his *Polychronicon*, that king *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, about one hundred years before this, was maſter of all the territories from the *Friths* to the *Twede*; that he had

(*a*) Append. num. 3.

(*b*) Polychron. edit. Galas, p. 194, 209, 210.

vanquiſhed the *Saxons* ſix times: this ſame anonymous piece informs us alſo, that king *Keneth* attacked the *Saxons* ſix times; that he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Maylros* and *Dunbar*; and relates other advantages that our kings, predeceſſors to *Indulf*, had over the *Saxons*: ſo the moſt that can be made of this paſſage is, that the town *Eden*, or *Edinburgh*, had been taken from the *Scots* after king *Keneth*'s time, and was rendered back to them in king *Indulf*'s time. And after all, we know nothing certain about the *Epoch*, nor of the authority of this extract.

I come now to give account of ſome other ancient pieces, which have immediate relation to the queſtion I am about to examine: they are written by *Scotiſh* authors, or rather extracted from our ancient *Scotiſh* annals before the year 1291, when, as our hiſtorians relate, moſt of theſe annals periſhed in king *Edward* I's time.

IV. THE firſt, which is the fourth in the appendix, is intitled in the ſame MS. above-mentioned, *Cronica Regum Scottorum* CCCXV. *annorum*. It contains the ſeries or names of our kings, with their lineal deſcent, and the years of their reigns, from king *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, till king *William* in the twelfth age; in whoſe time it was written or extracted, as appears by its ending preciſely at the firſt year of his reign, and with his genealogy, which it carries up, as all the others of this kind do,

do, to *Noah*. This genealogical ſeries is entirely conformable to that which is contained in all our *Scotiſh* writers already (*a*) mentioned, before the new genealogy given by *Boece* appeared. From *Malcolm Keanmore*, down to king *William*, this gives ſome particulars of the lives of our kings, and of their children; and it gives ground to conjecture, that the author of it was a monk of *Maylroſs*, or had ſome relation to that abbey. The date of CCCXV. *annorum*, at the end of the title of this ſmall chronicle, ſeems to reſpect either the number of years, from the beginning of king *Fergus Mac Erch*, to the union of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* monarchy; or from this union to the firſt year of king *William*'s reign.

V. THE fifth ancient piece in the appendix is another chronological ſeries of the kings of *Scots*, with their deſcent and years of their reigns, from *Fergus* the ſon of *Erc*. It ends the third year of king *Alexander* III. *A. D.* 1251. There is inſerted in it a catalogue of the *Pictiſh* kings. This ſeries is taken from one of the moſt ancient and moſt authentick hiſtorical monuments of *Scotland*, the regiſter of the priory of St. *Andrew*'s, fol. 46. It was ſent to me ſome years ago, with ſome other extracts of that regiſter or chartulary, by the late Sir *Robert Sybbald*, M. D. a moſt zealous perſon for collecting all ancient monuments of the

(*a*) Supra, p. 236, 237.

Scotiſh hiſtory that he could find. It is worth remarking, 1°. That Sir *Robert* ſent me, along with it, this caution or advice; to wit, that it was of little or no uſe to prove the antiquity of the *Scotiſh* monarchy, meaning that it could not ſerve to prove the ſcheme of our monarchy, as ſet down by *H. Boece*, and our other later hiſtorians, of which Sir *Robert* was very full. 2°. It is no leſs to be remarked, that this catalogue itſelf, being regiſtered among the records and charters of that ancient church, is a full proof of its being held authentick at the time it was written, that is, *A. D.* 1251, whilſt our ancient annals and monuments of hiſtory were yet in being, and forty years before the ſearches made in king *Edward*'s time.

THE certainty of the ſucceſſion of our kings, contained in this regiſter, is confirmed by the account we have of them from *Winton*, and from *James Gray*, who both of them had their information from the ſame records of St. *Andrew*'s, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve more at length afterwards. It was from the extracts of this regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, that the paſſages ſet down in Sir *James Dalrymple*'s collections were extracted; and with the extracts ſent to me by Sir *Robert Sybbald*, the folio of the regiſter was marked whence each extract was taken. As every great church had ſeveral of theſe chartularies or regiſters, this regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s was different from

from another (*a*) valuable one already mentioned, in which theſe catalogues of our kings are not ſet down, as not belonging to the ſubject, which concerns only the temporal lands and rights of that church.

In this ſeries, or catalogue of our kings, contained in this regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, from *Keneth Mac-Alpin* downward, there is a ſhort account of the death and burial-place, and of ſome of the actions of our kings: and this laſt part of the ſeries is entirely the ſame, word for word, with another chronological account of our kings from *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, contained in a MS. of the *Cotton* library, (*Vitellius A.* 20.) It is alſo conformable to another chronological account of the ſame kings, in verſe, and printed at the end of *Melroſs*'s chronicle. Now this conformity of ſeveral ancient accounts of our kings, written by different hands, and preſerved in different places, proves the account of them to be true, becauſe they agree one with another.

VI. A ſixth piece is a ſhort *Latin* chronicle, in verſe or rythm, ſubjoined to moſt of the copies of the *Scotichronicon*: there is an entire copy of it at the end of the *Scotichron. MS. Colleg. Scot. Pariſ.* without thoſe interpolations which are in ſome other copies. This chronicle gives a very different

(*a*) Penes Com. de Panmure.

account

account both of the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy, and of the ſucceſſion of the firſt kings from the chronicle of *John Fordun*; and in every thing it differs from him, it agrees as to the names and number of kings with the fourth and fifth chronological ſeries of our kings, which I have already mentioned. It conſiſts of eleven chapters; and tho' at firſt it would appear to be one continued piece, it is really compoſed of at leaſt two diſtinct parts, written in different ages, as the preface to it inſinuates, and the tenor of the poem proves. The firſt part being written *veteri metro*, in ancient metre or verſe, as the preface calls it; and the laſt parts in new verſe of the ſame ſort of metre; *& novo ad propoſitum reſpondente.*

THE firſt part, conſiſting of eight chapters, was written in *Alexander* II or III's time; for the author, after relating king *William*'s death, before he ſpeaks of his ſon *Alexander* II, begins the ninth chapter with theſe words:

Hactenus hæc dicta novi per chronica ſcripta
A modo quæ novi ſcriptis deſcribere vovi.

So all this part of the chronicle was compoſed whilſt our old annals as yet ſubſiſted; that is, before the year 1291.

THE laſt part was compoſed about the year 1448, by a new hand, in order to bring down the ſuc-

ſucceſſion to the time of king *James* II. who then reigned.

IN general, the firſt three chapters of this chronological poem contain a rude draught of the vulgar traditions of the *Scots*, in thoſe times, concerning their remote antiquities; their coming from *Egypt* to *Spain*, from thence to *Ireland*, and ſo to *Albany*. The fourth chapter gives ſome account of the *Pictiſh* monarchy in *Albany*. The fifth mentions the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Albany*. The ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth chapters give the ſeries of the kings from *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, till the death of king *William*, with the years of each reign. The ninth and tenth chapters contain the ſucceſſion of our kings from king *William*'s death, till the reign of king *Robert the Bruce*. The eleventh chapter brings down the ſeries from *Robert the Bruce*, till king *James* II. who, the author of this laſt addition ſays, was ſeventeen years of age when he compoſed it, which anſwers to the year 1448.

BESIDES theſe ſix ancient pieces which will be found in the appendix, there are ſome few other monuments of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory in poſterior times, already publiſhed, which alſo were written before *A. D.* 1291; ſuch as the chronicle of *Mayl-roſs*, which ends *A. D.* 1270. But the ſeries of our kings, contained in it, reaches no higher up than the year 731, where *Bede* left off his hiſto-

ry; and where his chronicle begins; and even this ſeries of our kings (which begins only at the death of king *Ewan* in the eighth age) is not of the firſt hand, in which the reſt of the MS. of that chronicle in the *Cotton* library is written, as the learned editor hath remarked, but of a later hand, and inſerted very negligently and incorrectly, eſpecially as to the chronology. The firſt author of this chronicle is all *Engliſh*, and gives but ſhort hints of *Scotiſh* matters till the time of king *Alexander* I. and king *David* I, except one leaf, which in the original MS. is of a hand about one hundred years more ancient than that of the chronicle itſelf. This leaf is abruptly inſerted in the original MS. and interrupts the thread of the chronology, as may be ſeen, *p.* 158. *l.* 27. of the printed copy, where this leaf begins; ----*Malcolmus filius Dunecan ſuſcepit regnum Scotiæ jure hæreditario*, &c. This old writ ends *p.* 159. *l.* 3. with the death of king *Malcolm* IV. *A. D.* 1165, when it was written.

THE chronicle itſelf contains a good ſeries of *Scotiſh* affairs, from the time of the ſecond foundation or reſtoration of *Maylros*, A. D. 1136, by *S. David*, *R.* I.

THE title of the chronicle in the printed edition, where it is ſaid, *inchoata per abbatem de Dundraynan*, is a wrong reading of the word *inchoavit*, inſtead of *mutuavit abbas de Dundraynan* in the origi-

original, in a character of a later hand. Our country is obliged to the late Dr. *Gale* for the edition of this chronicle, which is in the firſt volume of the XV *Scriptores Angliæ*, and to him likewiſe for the firſt edition of *Fordun* in the ſecond volume.

ANOTHER very ſhort chronicle, written in king *Malcolm* IV. or king *William*'s time, is printed in the *Anglia Sacra*, and intitled *Chronicon S. Crucis de Edynburgh*; but it contains little of *Scotiſh* matters, till king *David* I's time.

ANOTHER piece of our hiſtory, written before the year 1291, is a poem in *Latin*, containing the elegies or epitaphs of our kings; being a ſhort account of their lives and deaths, from *Kenneth* the firſt monarch of all *Scotland* or *Albany*. It is inſerted by a later hand in the MS. of *Maylros* chronicle in the *Cotton* library, and publiſhed alone by itſelf, at the end of the printed edition. This copy comes no farther down than the death of king *Malcolm* IV. But there's another copy of it in a MS. of the *Bodleian* library, that brings the ſucceſſion down to the beginning of the reign of *Alexander* III. at which time it was written, as is clear from the laſt verſes of it:

ALEXANDER III.

Nomen habet patris, utinam patris acta ſequatur.
Filius Albanica qui modo ſceptra tenet.

THESE

THESE are all the remains that I have as yet met with of *Scotiſh* chronicles or hiſtory, written before the year 1291. I do not mention here the remains of our eccleſiaſtical monuments, theſe not belonging properly to this firſt eſſay; but an account of ſome of them hath been already occaſionally (*a*) given in this eſſay.

§. 3. *Of records or monuments of our ancient hiſtory, written ſince the year* 1291, *and before the publiſhing of* Fordun's *chronicle.*

ALTHO' we had no other proofs of the loſs of our hiſtories and records in the year 1291, and of the ignorance of the ancient ſtate of the *Scots* in *Britain*, which enſued upon that loſs, it would but too evidently appear by the uncertainty in which our countrymen were at that time, and the contradictory accounts they give of the ſtate of the north of *Britain* in ancient times: and thoſe not barely private writers, but men of the beſt figure ſelected on purpoſe to defend the cauſe of the whole kingdom in one of the moſt ſolemn debates that we ever had, and that before the pope; in a word, the whole body of the nation, biſhops, nobles, and commons, in their memorials and letters upon this occaſion. There are yet remaining three publick pieces, preſented to the pope in the

(*a*) Supra, p. 587, &c.

name of the *Scotiſh* nation; in which the ſentiments that they had in that age of their antiquities, profane and ſacred, do appear.

To underſtand the ſubject of thoſe pieces, 'tis neceſſary to obſerve, that upon king *Edward* I's claiming the ſuperiority of *Scotland*, and invading the kingdom; the *Scots* had recourſe to the pope *Boniface* VIII. and ſent to *Rome* three procurators; to wit, *William* (*a*) archdean of *Lothians*, *Baldred Bizet* and *W. Egliſham*, as their deputies, to repreſent their grievances, and ſeek remedy; carrying with them ſuch proofs of their freedom, and independency, as they had yet remaining.

Upon which, the pope wrote to king *Edward* (27 *June*, 1299) monitory letters, by which, ſuppoſing *Scotland* to be a *Fief* of the ſee of *Rome*, and proving the liberty and independency of that kingdom by bulls and charters in king *Edward*'s father *Henry* III's time, and in his own: at the ſame time the pope ſummoned king *Edward* to ſend procurators to *Rome* in ſix months to defend his claim, declaring, all he ſhould in the mean time enterpriſe againſt *Scotland* to the contrary, null, and of no effect.

King *Edward* let paſs above a year and a half without any anſwer, and then being preſſed, cauſed firſt his nobles (*b*) (12 *Feb.* 1301) to anſwer, that

(*a*) Fordun. Continuat. edit. Hearn. p. 795.

(*b*) Fordun. Continuat. edit. Hearn. p. 984. 806.

Scotland

Scotland was not a *Fief* of the apoſtolical ſee; but of *England*, and that they would not ſuffer their king to anſwer or ſend procurators to *Rome* upon this debate, *&c.* At laſt, *Edward* himſelf anſwered (7 *May*, (*a*) 1301) endeavouring to prove the ſubjection of the *Scots* to the *Engliſh*, by a long deduction, beginning from *Brutus*, *Albanactus*, &c.

THESE letters being communicated by the pope's orders to the *Scotiſh* agents ſtill at *Rome*, they ſent them to *Scotland*, to the council of the kingdom, who cauſed anſwers to be drawn up in haſte, (*cum feſtinatione*) and ſent them back to their agents at *Rome*, with inſtructions bearing this title; I. (*b*) *Inſtructiones prælatorum, baronum & conſulum Scotiæ miſſæ ad curiam Romanam contra Edwardum regem Angliæ.*

BESIDES this, *Baldred Biſet*, one of the chief of theſe agents, anſwered *Edward*'s reaſons apart by another memorial, with this title; II. (*c*) *Proceſſus ductus in curia Romana per procuratores regni Scotiæ & ſpecialiter per M. Baldredum Biſet juriſperitum & clericum notabilem contra figmenta regis Angliæ.*

(*a*) Ibid. p. 809.
(*b*) Fordun. edit. Hearn. p. 835.
(*c*) Fordun. Continuat. Hearn. p. 883.

BOTH theſe pieces may be ſeen at length in the *Scotichronicon* MS. and in the exact new editions of *Fordun* by M. *Hearne*; and both of them, on occaſion of king *Edward*'s running up to *Brutus*, and the other ancient *Britiſh* ſtories, give us an account of the notion the *Scots* had then of their own high antiquities, rather by tradition and hearſay, than by monuments of hiſtory; of which it appears, that before this time they had been generally deprived, and in the hurry and confuſion matters were in, they had not leiſure to conſult ſuch remains as they might have of them; for the continuator of *Fordun* (as I ſaid) remarks, that they were drawn up in haſte, *cum feſtinatione*, and the circumſtances of the time required expedition.

III. THE third piece remaining of theſe dark times, betwixt the year 1291, and the publiſhing of *Fordun*'s hiſtory, concerning the remote antiquities of the *Scots*, is the famous *letter of the* Scotiſh *nobility to pope* John XXII. *dated the 6th of* Auguſt 1320, and often (*a*) publiſhed.

NOW as to the ſubſtance of theſe three pieces written betwixt the year 1291, and the publiſh-

(*a*) In Dr. *Burnet*'s collection of records, in the hiſtory of the *Engliſh* reformation, in M. *Anderſon*'s independency, and in M. *Hearne*'s edition of *Fordun*, p 787.

ing

ing the hiſtory of *John Fordun*; in the firſt place it muſt be acknowledged, that the liberties and independency of the crown of *Scotland* from *England*, (which is the main ſcope of theſe memorials and letter of the *Scots*) are maintained with great vigour, and ſupported with better documents and grounds than could well have been expected in ſuch times, and after the loſs the *Scots* had ſuffered (as they juſtly complain) of their ancient monuments, and of the beſt proofs of their liberties.

As to the accounts they give of their remote antiquities, they are much the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe given in the *Chronicon Rythmicum*, already mentioned, which contains an abridgment of the traditions of the *Scots* on that ſubject, ſuch as they were believed to be commonly in the thirteenth age. But thoſe remote antiquities being only incident matters to the chief ſubject of the debate of the *Scots*, about their independency on *England*, they are only occaſionally mentioned in the memorials and letter to the pope, not to be behind-hand with king *Edward*, who had valued himſelf on his having ſucceeded, by a long deſcent of kings, to *Brutus*, *Locrinus*, &c. and as having entered in their rights over the northern inhabitants of *Britain*. Beſides that, the accounts that the *Scots* deliver in theſe pieces, were drawn up, as hath been remarked, in ſo great haſte, that they had not leiſure, in the hurry of war, to examine them maturely, or conſult thoſe that were

moſt verſed in the antiquities of the nation; but were obliged to ſet down ſuch notions of them as their memory or popular tradition furniſhed them with, and at the ſame time to give them the moſt favourable turn they could, to the honour and advantage of their nation, beyond the *Engliſh*. In a word, thoſe productions of the *Scots*, I mean as to their remote antiquities, ought to be conſidered, ſuch as they truly were, as the pleadings of advocates, who commonly make no great difficulty to advance with great aſſurance all that makes for the advantage of their cauſe or clients, tho' they have but probable grounds, and ſometimes but bare conjectures to go upon.

IT muſt not then be wondered at, that we meet with in theſe productions of the *Scots*, and others of thoſe times, many particulars concerning our remote antiquities, very different from what more ancient documents contain, and ſome notions quite new, and ſingular. Now it is to be obſerved, that though they were only broached in haſte, in order to ſerve the preſent turn; yet ſome of theſe notions having been taken up by poſterior writers, and made the foundations of new ſchemes of our hiſtory, its neceſſary to give ſome account of the more ſingular particulars that thoſe pieces contain.

1°. THE inſtructions of the ſtates inſinuate, *Scota* herſelf, *Pharaoh*'s daughter, came to *Scotland* (bringing

(bringing along with her ſome of the inhabitants of *Ireland* as ſhe paſſed) together with her ſon *Erc*; from whoſe name, and that of his father *Gathelus*, the firſt lands that the *Scots* poſſeſſed in *Britain*, were called *Argadia*, or rather *Ercgathcyl*. 2°. The letter of the nobility inſinuates, that the *Scots* came from *Spain* ſtraight to *Britain*, without mentioning *Ireland*. 3°. Theſe pieces tell us, that from the firſt coming of the *Scots* to *Britain*, the old name of *Albania* was changed into that of *Scotia* (from *Scota*) which the *Scots*, ſay they, thenceforth kept up with an uninterrupted poſſeſſion of their independency, whilſt the ſouth of *Britain* changed many names and maſters. (To be ſure our highland ſeanachies were not conſulted in this account, of the aboliſhing the name of *Albany* in thoſe firſt times, ſince the *Highlanders* ſtill retain it to this day.) 4°. As to chriſtianity, the inſtructions inform us, that the *Scots* received it four hundred years, *Baldred*'s proceſs ſays five hundred years, before the *Engliſh*; which would come up to the year one hundred of Chriſt. And the nobility's letters ſeem to ſay, that the *Scots* embraced chriſtianity among the firſt, after Chriſt's reſurrection and aſcenſion.

5°. THE inſtructions and proceſs affirm, that in conſequence of our chriſtianity, and afterwards by the famous donation of the emperor *Conſtantine*, *Scotland* became a *Fief* of the church of *Rome*; and they are at great pains to prove, by all the argu-

arguments they could think of, their immediate dependence on the ſee of *Rome* in temporals: but withal, they do not ſo much as inſinuate, that ever any of our kings ſubmitted his kingdom to the pope in temporals, as indeed there was never any ſuch thing heard of in *Scotland*. The truth is, that the *Scots* at this time (*circ. A. D.* 1300) being divided among themſelves, were grievouſly oppreſſed by king *Edward*, and but faintly aſſiſted by the *French*; ſo expecting no relief from abroad, but from the pope and the cenſures of the church, they make uſe of all arguments that could move him to exert his power againſt king *Edward*: and therefore they plead merit at his hands, by their being a moſt ancient people among the firſt that embraced chriſtianity; and more yet, by their being vaſſals to the pope, from which they inferred, that king *Edward*'s claiming ſuperiority over them was a ſacrilegious invaſion of the rights of the apoſtolical ſee, which was therefore more ſtrictly obliged to protect them. In a word, they conſidered that the pope lying at ſuch a diſtance from them, their having ſome dependence on him even in temporals, was incomparably better, and leſs burthenſome, than to be vaſſals to king *Edward*, ſo heavy upon them, and ſo nigh at hand in the ſame iſland. Upon the whole, they ſay all that men in a ſtreſs will ſay to ſerve a turn, without examining matters ſo nicely. And for a proof that all this was merely the effect of their preſent preſſures, when thoſe were once over, and that king

Robert

Robert the Bruce's victorious arms had ſhaken off the *Engliſh* yoke, there is never a word more to be found of the kingdom's being a *Fief* of the church of *Rome* in the nobility's letter to pope *John* XXIII. (*A. D.* 1320) nor at any time after. But they think it enough to call themſelves the humble and devout ſons of the pope, and the kingdom the patrimony of St. *Andrew*, brother to St. *Peter*, and their ſpecial patron; being well aſſured that none of St. *Andrew*'s ſucceſſors would claim any vaſſalage on them.

6°. BUT the moſt remarkable thing to be met with in theſe memorials, and the moſt material to the ſubject, we are now about, is, that in them we find, for the firſt time in any piece I have yet met with, mention of ancient *kings of Scots* in *Britain* before the fifth or ſixth age: this became a bottom for poſterior writers to work upon. And thus far as to the ſecond claſs of the monuments of our ancient hiſtory.

IV. BUT before we come to the third claſs, we have as yet two writers to mention: the one is *Andrew Winton*, who, though he probably outlived *Fordun*, yet he wrote before *Fordun*'s chronicle was publiſhed, and certainly had never ſeen his work, and ſo belongs properly to this ſecond claſs of the monuments of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, written after the year 1291, and before the publiſhing *Fordun*'s chronicle, which, though written in the reign of king *Robert* II. or III. was not publiſhed till that of king *James* II.

ANDREW

ANDREW WINTON was a canon regular of St. *Andrew*'s, and prior of *Loghlevin*; he wrote a chronicle, in *Scotiſh* metre, during the end of the reign of king *Robert* III. and beginning of that of king *James* I. There are in the regiſter or chartulary of the priory of St. *Andrew*'s (*a*) ſeveral authentick acts, or publick inſtruments of *Andrew Winton*, as prior of *Loghlevin*, from the year 1395 till 1413. What preciſe year he died in, I do not find. His work is divided into nine books. The firſt five contain a kind of abſtract of univeral hiſtory, intermixed with ſuch lame accounts of the *Picts* and *Scots*, as the author had met with, till the reign of *Keneth Mac-Alpin* in the ninth age. From the ſixth book forwards he is more full on the *Scotiſh* affairs; and in the three laſt books he gives almoſt a continued hiſtory of *Scotiſh* matters, from *Malcolm Keanmore* till the beginning of the reign of king *James* I. where his chronicle ends about the year 1408.

THE character of this writer (as indeed of moſt writers of that age) is to ſet down with ſimplicity, and almoſt without any examination, whatever he found proper to his ſubject in former writers, or in the common traditions of the times in which he lived, about the matters of which he treats. By conſequence, the chief thing we may

(*a*) Penes comitem de Panmure.

learn

learn from *Winton*, is what notions the *Scots* had of their origin, of the beginning of their monarchy, and of the other antiquities of *Scots* and *Picts* in the end of the fourteenth age, before the publishing *Fordun*'s chronicle.

As to the *Scotiſh* antiquities, *Winton*, in his firſt five books, gives us the genealogy of our kings in the different ages, from *Noe* till *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, the ſame that all our ancient writers, before *Boece*, contain. He tells the ſtory of *Gathelgas*, or *Gatheyl*'s marrying *Scota*, the daughter of *Pharaoh*, from whom the *Scots* were ſo called; his coming to *Spain*; that *Simon Breac*, about thirty three generations from *Gathelglas* or *Gatheyl*, and twenty two from *Mileſdeſpain* or *Mileſius*, came from *Spain* to *Ireland*, and began there the kingdom of the *Scots*, bringing with him the fatal ſtone. That the *Scots* came from *Ireland* to the north of *Britain* about four hundred and forty years before the incarnation.

But, what is very remarkable, he takes no particular notice of *Fergus* ſon of *Feradach*, called king *Fergus* I. by *Fordun* and his followers, but ſets down his bare name, without any mark of diſtinction, among the other names in that genealogy of our kings. But as to *Fergus* the ſon of *Erc*, whom he calls *Fergus the Great*, *Winton* informs us, that it was he who carried over the famous ſtone from *Ireland* to the north of *Britain*, and who became

became the firſt king of the *Scots* in this iſland; as it will farther appear when we come to examine that matter.

AMONG many other MSS. which I have ſeen of this chronicle of *Winton*, there is one belonging to the king's library, (now joined in with the *Cotton* library) at *London* (*Num.* 16, *B.* xx.) that appears to me the moſt entire and moſt valuable of them all. It is written upon ſtrong paper, intermixed with vellum from place to place, and, by the form and character of it, ſeems to have been written towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, near the author's time. But what is moſt valuable in this copy is, that it appears to be the laſt review and edition (if I may ſpeak ſo) that *Winton* made of his chronicle, containing ſeveral corrections, additions and alterations made in it upon better information.

(*a*) THE moſt material addition that this copy contains, is a compleat chronology, or ſeries of the kings of *Scots*, from *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, with the years of their reigns, down to *Eochad-Rinneval*, (*Mac Dongard-Mac Domnuil-Bric*, called by our modern writers *Eugen.* V.) This ſeries is not in another very ancient MSS. of this chronicle in the *Cotton* (*b*) library, nor in any other that I have hi-

(*a*) Chron. Winton. Bibliothec. Regiæ Lond. Book IV. chap. 8.

(*b*) Bibl. Cotton Nero, D. XI.

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therto met with. It is taken from the records of St. *Andrew's*, whereof *Winton* was a canon, as appears by its conformity to the ſeries in the (*a*) appendix, taken from a regiſter or chartulary of that church, and to that of *James Gray*, both taken from the ſame records of that ancient church. This firſt part of that ſeries in *Winton* being ſo rare, I ſhall give it in his own language with the reſt of the pieces in the appendix (*b*). The following part of that ſeries of our kings, which begins book VI. chap. 1. being intermixed with the reſt of the hiſtory, and in all the other copies of that chronicle, I ſhall not follow it.

As to corrections or retrenchments that *Winton* hath made in this laſt review of his chronicle, one of the moſt remarkable is, that *Winton*, it ſeems, hath been adviſed, by perſons more skilled in hiſtory, after the firſt editions of his chronicle appeared, to leave out, what he had advanced in the firſt draughts of it, that *Fergus-mac-Erch* (whom in all his draughts of it firſt, and laſt, he ſtill makes the firſt king of *Scots*) began his reign about two hundred and forty years before *Cruythne*, the firſt king of the *Picts*, who, according to him, began only about two hundred years before the incarnation; whereas he had made the reign of *Fergus-mac-Erch*, firſt king of the *Scots*, to begin about four hundred and forty years before the birth of Chriſt. We may

(*a*) Append. numb. 5.
(*b*) Append. numb. 7.

elſewhere have occaſion to obſerve the intricacy into which this drove him; for their being but ten or eleven generations, according to the old genealogy univerſally received, betwixt *Fergus-mac-Erch* and *Keneth-mac-Alpin*, who lived in the ninth century, the placing *Fergus-mac-Erch*'s reign four hundred years before the incarnation, was followed by this abſurdity, that ten or twelve generations behoved to extend to twelve centuries. *Winton* himſelf had obſerved (*a*) this in the firſt draughts of his chronicle, and after uſeleſs efforts to get rid of it, he is forced at laſt to leave it to others, or rather to give it up, and to own that the *Picts* were already reigning in *Albany*, before *Fergus-mac-Erch*, firſt king of the *Scots*, began to reign. It ſeems that *Winton* was adviſed to omit all this in the laſt review and correction of his chronicle, where accordingly we meet no more with it.

As to *Pictiſh* matters, he brings down their ſettlement, and beginning of their monarchy, two hundred years later than that of the *Scots*, as it was uſual with all the other *Scotiſh* writers to bring it as low as they could, in order to give the *Scots* a preference of antiquity before the *Picts*, as it hath been (*b*) obſerved. For which reaſon *Winton* tells us, that the *Picts* ſettled in *Britain*

(*a*) Wint. Chron. fol. 37, 43, &c. Bibl. Cott. Nero, D. XI.

(*b*) Supra, p. 125, 126, &c.

two hundred years only before the incarnation; that their kingdom laſted about one thouſand and ſixty years; and that they were ſubdued by *Kenneth-mac-Alpin*, *A. D.* 843. He gives us the names of the *Pictiſh* kings from *Cruythne* their firſt king, much in the ſame manner as the extract of the regiſter of St. *Andrew* contains them.

THE other writer, who belongs to this ſecond claſs, is Mr. *James Gray*, a publick notary, and prieſt of the dioceſe of *Dunblain*. He was a perſon of character in his time, being ſucceſſively ſecretary to the two firſt archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s after *Patrick Graham*; to wit, to *William Schevez* and to prince *James* duke of *Roſs*, brother to king *James* IV.

THERE is extant, in the hands of the learned M. *John Kerr*, profeſſor of *Greek* in the royal college of the *Old-town* of *Aberdeen*, a collection of pieces made by this *James Gray* for his own uſe, and fitted to his calling, which M. *Kerr* was pleaſed to communicate to me. Among other curious pieces in this collection, there is a ſhort chronicle, in which, after ſetting down a ſhort account of the five firſt ages of the world, according to the common calculation of thoſe times, there follows, with the title of *Cronica brevis*, in the firſt place, a genealogy of the kings of *Scotland*, from *Adam* down to king *James* IV. juſt the ſame that is given by all other writers that treat of it, before

the new genealogy produced by *Hector Boece* appeared. This genealogy inſerted by *James Gray*, as it differs entirely, as well as all the old ones as we have ſeen, from that of *Boece*; ſo it agrees with all the old ones, except in miſtakes and faults of copyiſts, whereof the chief are, that the tranſcriber, by miſtake, takes ſometimes the ſirnames in the genealogy for a new name, and ſo multiplies, by conſequence, the deſcents or the generations, by making one deſcent of the name, and another of the ſirname, thus: inſtead of *Eakak* or *Eachach Munremore*, *cujus filius fuit Erch*, *cujus filius Fergus*, &c. he has read, *Eakak cujus filius fuit Munre*, *cujus filius fuit Erth more*, &c. At other times, by a contrary miſtake, he joins two names or deſcents in one, thus: inſtead of *Forgo* or *Fergus*, *cujus filius fuit Maynus*, *cujus filius fuit*, &c. as it is in all other copies of that genealogy, he hath *Forgo Magnus* (reading *g* for *y*, and joining two names) *cujus filius fuit*, &c.

In the next place, *James Gray*, though he ſuppoſes (according to a tradition received among the *Scots*, as we have ſeen, from about the twelfth age) that they came to *Britain* four hundred and forty three years before the incarnation; and inſinuates, as *Winton* doth, that they had kings from the beginning, or that their kingdom began with their firſt ſettlement in *Britain*, *Notandum quod Regnum Scotiæ incepit ante Incarnationem*, *A. D.* 443. which was an opinion received among the *Scots*, ſince the debates before pope *Boniface* VIII. againſt

againſt king *Edward* I. about their independency, as we have ſeen elſewhere; yet when *James Gray* comes to ſet down the ſeries of the kings of *Scotland*, he follows exactly the extracts of the ancient *Scotiſh* chronicles, ſuch as they were long before theſe debates with king *Edward* I. It being manifeſt, by the text of the chronicle, or abſtract of our chronicles, that *James Gray* had before him, that it was written during the reign of king *William*, and before the end of the twelfth age, from theſe words, where giving an account of the number of years that the *Scots* had reigned ſince the end of the *Pictiſh* kingdom, or its union with that of the *Scots*, he ſays, it was only three hundred and thirty ſeven years and five months. *Summa Scotorum poſt Pictos* 337 *ann. & 5 menſ.* Now whatever year be aſſigned to the end of the *Pictiſh* monarchy, whether 839, as *Fordun* reckons, or 842, as it ſeems more probable, the *Epoch* of the chronicle, that *James Gray* copied, will be towards the end of the twelfth age, *A. D.* 1176. or 1169. during the reign of king *William*. And this copy of *James Gray*, bating faults of tranſcribers, which are many, eſpecially in ſlipping over ſome few of the kings names, and in the numerical cyphers of the years of ſome reigns, agrees perfectly with the extract already mentioned of the old regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, in the ſeries of the kings of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and in the order in which they place them. Both of them begin with theſe words: *Fergus filius Erch primus regnavit in Scotia tribus*

annis ultra Dromalbain, &c. *Dovenghart fil. Fergus quinque annis regnavit. Congal. fil. Dovenghart*, &c. and continue down the ſucceſſion till king *Alpin*, of whom they both give the ſame account in the ſame words: *Alpin filius Heoghed annuing 3 annis regnavit. Hic occiſus eſt in Galwathea poſtquam eam penitus deſtruxit & devaſtavit. Et hinc tranſlatum eſt regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.*

AFTER that, both the regiſter and *James Gray* ſet down the catalogue or ſeries of the *Pictiſh* kings, beginning both in the ſame words: *Cruthnie fil. Kynne clemens judex accepit monarchiam Pictorum & 50 an. regnavit*, &c. and both finiſh them in the ſame manner: *Druſt* or *Durſt*, *fil. Ferat 3 annis regnavit. Hic occiſus eſt apud Forteviot: ſecundum alios apud Sconam a Scottis.* And then they both reſume the ſeries or catalogue of the *Scotiſh* kings, from *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, in the ſame words thus: *Kinath Mac-Alpin* XVI. *ann. regn. ſuper Scottos deſtructis Pictis & mortuus eſt in Forteviot & ſepultus in Yona inſula: ubi tres filii Erch ſcilicet Fergus, Loarn & Oengus ſepulti fuerunt. Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum.* From this, *Kynath* or *Keneth*, the firſt king after the union, they both carry down the catalogue of the kings of *Scotland*; to wit, the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, till the ſecond or third year of king *Alexander* III. about which time it was written, and *James Gray* till *Malcolm Keanmore*; where perhaps the chronicle, whence he extracted it, ended.

And

And, after giving a ſhort eccleſiaſtical kind of chronology, he reſumes that of the *Scotiſh* kings at *Malcolm Keanmore*, and carries it down to his own time.

By all this it appears, that either *James Gray* hath copied the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, or, which is more likely, that both he and the regiſter have followed the ſame original; that is, the records of St. *Andrew*'s: which *James Gray* had a fair opportunity of doing, during his abode ſeveral years in that city, as ſecretary to two archbiſhops; which gave him ready acceſs to all that had been preſerved of records in that ancient church. And thus the agreeing teſtimony of theſe two writers confirm each other; and aſſure us of the ſeries and ſucceſſion of the *Scotiſh* kings, ſuch as they were contained in their ancient annals and hiſtories before the year 1291.

I cannot finiſh this account of *James Gray* without taking notice that he is probably the ſame perſon mentioned at the end of the ſecond book of the MS. *Scotichronicon*, (one of the fulleſt of that kind) belonging to the honourable family of *Panmure*. The words of this MS. are; *Explicit liber ſecundus Scotichronicon 9 Januar. in Edinburg. oppido, A. D.* 1480. *per me magnum Macculloch*, (and in another hand) *& per me Jacobum Gray illuminatus.* If this was the ſame *James Gray*, author of the aforeſaid catalogue of our kings, as both this

date and the name makes me think it was, then in that caſe it would appear, that either this catalogue of our kings muſt have been extracted by him before he ſaw *John Fordun*'s chronicle, or if after he ſaw it, which is more likely, we muſt ſuppoſe that he looked upon the records, whence he took his catalogue, as of greater authority than *Fordun*'s chronicle; ſince in the names, ſucceſſion and chronology of our kings, he hath followed theſe records, preferably to *Fordun*. And thus far as to our writers of the ſecond claſs.

§. 3. *Of* John Fordun; *of his continuators and followers, and other writers of our ancient hiſtory, till the year* 1526.

We have (*a*) already given an account of *John Fordun*, and of the occaſion of his compiling the *Scotiſh* hiſtory; and we ſhall again have farther occaſion elſewhere to treat of him. At preſent it ſuffices to remark, that he wrote in the reigns of *Robert* II. or III. but that it appears that his hiſtory was not publiſhed, or much known till afterwards; that *Walter Bowmaker*, abbot of *Inchcolm*, made additions to it, and a continuation of it, in the reign of king *James* II. This chronicle was followed on, or continued by ſeveral others; ſuch as *Patrick Ruſſel* a *Carthuſian* monk, *Macculloch* canon of *Scoon*; and in general all our o-

(*a*) Supra, pag. 201.

thor

ther monaſtery books, (except that of *Maylroſs*) ſuch as *Liber Paſtatenſis*, *Cuprenſis*, *Sconenſis*, &c. were nothing elſe but copies of *Fordun*, till the death of king *David* I. with ſome few interpolations of their own, and a continuation of his hiſtory down to the death of king *James* I. and theſe copies of *Fordun*, with the continuation, is what is called *Scotichronicon*. Of all which there were alſo ſeveral abridgments: whereof a large account may be found in Dr. *Nicholſon*'s *Scotiſh* hiſtorical library; and in M. *Hearne*'s remarks and appendixes to his edition of *Fordun*: to which I refer for brevity.

II. To this third claſs of our writers ought to be referred, a MS. chronicle of *Scotland*, tranſlated from *Latin* into *French* by one *Grem. Domate*, and dedicated to *John* duke of *Albany* in the year of our Lord 1519. This MS. belongs to the library of the abbey of St. *Geneoveve* in *Paris*. It is in folio, marked M 2. It is a very literal tranſlation into *French* of *Fordun*, with the ſame continuator, which in the *Bodleian* library, *Cod. MS.* 3888, bears the title of biſhop *Elphinſton*'s hiſtory: but it would ſeem by this MS. that the original was written by order of the abbot of *Dunfermlin*; and probably the copy that *Domate* made uſe of, belonged to that abbey.

THIS tranſlator hath made many miſtakes in his tranſlation, and the copy is very defective. What

What ſeems moſt remarkable in it, is an appendix in eight leaves on vellum, containing a kind of abridgment of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, with pictures of the kings, from *Galahel* or *Gaythel* and *Scota* downwards, in very coarſe miniature: and here we have a firſt eſſay of the names of theſe ancient kings of *Scots* that are ſaid to have preceded king *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*. Their names, according to this writer, are as follows:

1. *GALAHEL*, or *Gaythel*, and *Scota*. 2. *Hlber*. 3. *Himec*. 4. *Nonael*. 5. *Micelium* (*Mileſius*.) 6. *Bartholon*. 7. Another *Micelio*. 8. *Simon Breac*. 9. *Ethac Rothſay*. 10. *Fergus*. 11. *Rether*. 12. *Maher*. 13. *Anonyme*. 14. *Jayr*. 15. *Eteorac*, in the time of *Diocleſian*. 16. *Phaleg*, in the time of *Carauſius*. 17. *Eugenius*. 18. *Hurguſt*, (who was king of the *Picts*, otherwiſe called *Eubotha*.) 19. *Fergus*, (this was *Fergus* II. ſon of *Erc*) and from him he continues the ordinary names of the kings, as in *Fordun*, with their pictures, till king *James* I; but as the number of kings he mentions before *Fergus* II. are far ſhort of the forty-five, which *Fordun* ſays we had, ſo they are very different names and perſonages from thoſe forty that *Boece* found about ſix years after *Domate*, in his famous MSS. of *Veremund*, &c. However, we may obſerve by this, that attempts were made to fill up this gap of the hiſtory before *Fergus* II. which *Fordun* and his continuators had left. All of them, tho' they tell us there were

forty

forty-five kings before *Fergus* II. yet they neither give us any account of them, nor ſo much as their names, except of three, *Fergus* I. *Reither*, and *Eugenius*.

III. To this third claſs of our writers belongs alſo *John Major*'s hiſtory; it being a ſhort abridgment of *Fordun*, or of ſome of his continuators, intermixed with an abſtract of the *Engliſh* hiſtory, and with many reflexions and ſcholaſtick reaſonings of his own. It gives us no farther account of the forty-five kings before *Fergus* II. than *Fordun*. It was printed very incorrectly at *Paris*, *A. D.* 1521, whilſt the author was abſent in *Scotland*. Among other errors of copyiſts, or of the print in *John Major*'s printed hiſtory, ought without doubt to be reckoned this paſſage, *L.* 2. *c.* 1. *Inter hunc Fergusium filium Erth & primum Fergusium filium Ferchardi quindecim Scotorum erant Reges, & ultra Septingentorum annorum tempus*, &c. for all the copies of *Fordun*, (whereof *Major* is only an abſtract) have forty-five kings; and in *Major*'s own account, in the following ſeven hundred years from *Fergus* II. till *Edgar*, there are fifty-one kings, that is, above thrice fifteen: ſo this muſt be viſibly a miſtake of the cyphers 15 for 45, either in *Major*'s copy, or in that which he followed, which the publiſher hath printed at length by miſtake.

IV. To the ſame claſs ought to be reduced a ſhort abridgment of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, by the title

title of *Brevis Chronica*, annexed to *Winton*'s chronicle MS. in the lawyers library at *Edinburgh*. This ſhort chronicle begins with *Gathelus* and *Scota*, and brings down the hiſtory to the reign of king *Robert* II. Tho' the author lived after *Boece*, and even after his tranſlator *Bellenden*; yet as to our remote antiquities, and all that paſſed before *Fergus* II; he is to be claſſed among the followers of *Fordun*, of whom he is an exact abridger, till *Fergus* II's time, and hath no more than he of the firſt forty kings, not ſo much as their names, tho' he had before him *Boece*'s hiſtory tranſlated by *Bellenden*, and follows him from *Fergus* II. downwards, in the character of our kings; and from *Conſtantine* III. he generally quotes book and chapter of *Bellenden*'s tranſlation of *Boece*. This his deſignedly omitting all the ſtory, and even the names of the firſt forty kings of *Boece*, which he had before him, ſhews plainly, that *Boece*'s accounts of them, over and above what *Fordun* had left, was not at firſt reliſhed even by all our *Scotiſh* writers.

§. 4. *Or fourth claſs of* Scotiſh *writers*; *of* Boece, Buchananan, *and their followers.*

I have already treated at ſo great length of *Hector Boece*, *George Buchanan*, and their chief followers performances, that it would be ſuperfluous to inſiſt farther on them in this place. What more may be proper to ſay of them will come in more ſeaſonably elſewhere.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the true Epoch *of the firſt Settlement of the* Scots, *and beginning of their monarchy in* Britain.

AFTER the account I have given in the preceding chapter, of the writers of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, and of the remains we have of monuments or records, concerning the moſt ancient part of it, I am now to treat, 1°. Of the time of the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain.* 2°. Of the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain.* 3°. Of the beginning of his reign, which is the *Epoch* of the monarchy of the *Scots* in this iſland. 4°. For a more full ſatisfaction, and a general anſwer to the objections againſt the ſyſtem of the high antiquities of the *Scots*, which I have here ſet down, I ſhall conclude the eſſays, by an account of the different ſteps and degrees by which the high antiquities of the *Scots* ſeem to have grown up by length of time, in the ſeveral hands through which they paſſed, into the plan of hiſtory in which they were delivered by our modern writers.

ART.

ART. I. *Of the firſt ſettlement of the* Scots *in* Britain.

THE opinion of the coming in of the *Scots*, and of their having been ſettled in *Ireland* many ages before the incarnation, having been received among the *Iriſh*, as we ſee by *Nennius*, before the ninth age, it is no wonder that the *Scots* in *Britain*, looking on themſelves, as deſcended of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, and having among them bards of the ſame genius as thoſe in *Ireland*, ſhould have afterwards, by degrees, claimed to themſelves a high antiquity.

BUT having already ſhewn the uncertainty of the grounds on which the *Iriſh* build their pretenſions to remote antiquity in the *Scotiſh* line, and having proved that there is much more ground, from the beſt information that we can have of ancient times, to be perſuaded that the ſettlement of the *Scots* even in *Ireland*, was only about the time of the incarnation, or even after it; from this it follows, that the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* muſt be yet of a later date, ſince it would ſeem natural that there ſhould be ſome time allowed to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, to eſtabliſh themſelves there, and multiply ſo, as to be able to ſend out a colony to the northern parts of *Britain*.

BUT

BUT if we ſuppoſe what is credible enough, and wants not ground in antiquity, that the *Scots* did not ſettle at firſt in a full body and by force in *Britain*, but came in by degrees; that they firſt poſſeſſed ſome of the weſtern iſlands, and coming over in ſmall numbers, obtained habitations, with the allowance of the *Picts*, on the north-weſtern coaſts, where they lived at firſt united to the *Picts* in *Britain*, and joined with them in their expeditions againſt the *Romans*, or provincial *Britons*. In this ſuppoſition, the firſt coming in of the *Scots* to *Britain*, may have been not long after their ſettlement in *Ireland*. Beſides, that in in the ſuppoſition of the *Scots* coming originally from *Scandia*, (of which we have (*a*) treated elſewhere) whilſt the greateſt number of them paſſed forward to *Ireland*, ſome of them might have ſtopped at the weſtern iſlands, or coaſts of *Britain*, and there fixed their ſeats by conſent of the *Picts*, willing to have them auxiliaries in their wars againſt the *Romans* and *Britons*, as we obſerve they were, from the firſt time of the *Scots* ſettling in *Britain*. And a farther proof of the early ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* is, that the firſt author that ſpeaks of them (*b*), mentions them in *Britain* about the year 360; as we ſhall ſhew.

(*a*) Supra, pag. 539.
(*b*) Ammian. l. 20.

(*a*) *BEDE*

(*a*) *BEDE* leaves it uncertain, whether the *Scots* ſettled at firſt among the *Picts by force or by favour*; [Scoti] *Duce Reuda de Hybernia egreſſi vel amicitiâ vel ferro ſibimet inter eos (Pictos) ſedes quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. A quo, viz. duce, uſque hodie Dalreudini vocantur.* *Bede* adds, that the *Scots*, on their coming to *Britain*, ſettled on the north ſide of the *Frith* of *Clwyd*, which was of old the boundary of the *Britons* and *Picts* on the weſt of *Britain*. *Bede* informs us here, that in his time the *Scots* in *Britain* were called as yet *Dalreudini*. *Nennius* (*b*) alſo in the ninth age calls the poſſeſſions of the *Scots* in *Britain*, *Regiones Dalrietæ*; and long after *Nennius*, the anonymous writer, printed in the appendix (*c*) to this eſſay, calls the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, before their union with the *Picts*, by the name of (*d*) *Regnum Dalrietæ*, or kingdom of *Dalrede*.

THE *Iriſh* (*e*) writers give ample accounts of the origine of the name *Dalriada*. Theſe accounts may be ſeen ſet down at great length by Dr. *Kenedy* (*f*). They derive the name *Dalriada*,

(*a*) Bed. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1.

(*c*) Append. num. 3.

(*b*) Nennius, c. 9.

(*d*) Iſte [*Kenethus*] biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam *Dalrietæ* regnum ſuſcepit. *Append. n.* 3.

(*e*) Uſſer. Antiq. Brit. p. 320, 321.

(*f*) Ken. Geneal. p. 103, 104, &c.

not without probability from *Eocha Riada*, who, they ſay, was alſo called *Carbre Riada* (ſon of king *Conar*) the ſame with *Bede*'s *Reuda*. He is called in the beſt copies of the old genealogy of the kings of *Scots*, *Eocha*, or *Eochad Riada* or *Riede*, (as may be ſeen in the genealogical table, *pag.* 235.) and, in the later and more incorrect copies, the name is written *Ethod Riede*; from whence is derived *Boece*'s twenty fifth king *Ethodius* I. who reigned, according to *Buchanan*, *A. D.* 163.

THE ſame *Iriſh* writers acknowledge, that the *Scots* came from *Ireland* to *Britain* under the conduct of this *Eocha Riada*, ſon of *Conar*, who, according to them, was king of *Ireland*, and died *A. D.* 219: ſo the coming over of his ſon *Eocha Riada* with the *Scots* into *Britain*, may have happened about the beginning of the third age. But it muſt have fallen out more early, if we could depend upon the tenor of the old genealogy of our kings, ſuch as I have ſhewn (*a*) that all our writers do uniformly deliver before *Boece*'s new genealogy appeared. For, according to this old genealogy (*b*), *Eocha Riada Mac-Conar*, was, in the thirteenth degree before *Erc*, father to *Fergus*: ſo that though this *Fergus mac Erch* be placed in the end of the fifth or beginning of the ſixth century, allowing thirty years to each generation

(*a*) Supra, p. 236, 237, &c.
(*b*) Vide the tables, p. 235.

the coming in of *Eochà Riada* with the *Scots* to *Britain*, would have happened in the beginning of the ſecond century; which would have been too early, ſuppoſing that the *Scots* came into *Ireland* only about the time of the incarnation; ſince ſome length of time muſt be allowed to the *Scots*, after their coming into *Ireland*, to ſettle themſelves and multiply in that iſland, before they could ſend out any colonies.

IT were eaſy to ſolve this difficulty, by the method that ſome *Iriſh* writers make uſe of in like caſes. For when they find in their genealogies the number of generations too great to agree with any period of time for ſettling a chronology, they do not heſitate to reduce theſe exorbitant generations to the preciſe number that fits their purpoſe; making no difficulty to cut off as many generations, as they find expedient of theſe old genealogies compoſed by their ſenachies; notwithſtanding all the regulations of their parliaments of *Tarach*, of the committee of *Nine*, and all the ſtrict examinations that they pretend (*a*) were made of theſe productions of their ſeanachies, and the precautions for preſerving them. We have elſewhere (*b*) obſerved their reductions of this kind; and *O Flaherty* alone could furniſh many examples of it. And, not to depart from the preſent caſe,

(*a*) D. Kened. Geneal. Pref. p. 17, 18, &c.
(*b*) Supra, p. 485, 486, &c.

they

they tell us (*a*), that there are, according to their antiquaries, eleven deſcents or generations from *Eocha Riada* till *Fergus* the ſon of *Erc*, which, as they think, is two generations more than enough for that period of time: and accordingly Dr. *Kenedy* (*b*) is at great pains to make a reduction of them to a ſmaller number, and ſtrikes off two of them.

BUT as all theſe genealogies, and other domeſtick accounts of the remote antiquities of the *Iriſh* and *Scots*, appear very uncertain, conſidering the little probability there is, that they had, before the fifth age, the uſe of letters, or any other ſure means to preſerve true accounts of paſt tranſactions; we muſt therefore endeavour to find ſome light into this dark ſubject, of the firſt coming in of the *Scots* to *Britain*, in the more certain accounts given us by the *Roman* writers.

(*c*) *AMMIAN MARCELLIN*, the firſt writer that mentions the *Scots*, gives us the folfollowing account. That *A. D.* 360, towards the latter end of the reign of the emperor *Conſtantius* in *Britain*, the *Scots* and the *Picts*, two fierce people,

(*a*) D. Ken. Gen. p. 115.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 116, 117, &c.

(*c*) In Britanniis Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excurſu, rupta quiete, condicta limitibus loca vaſtata ſunt, & implicabat formido vicinas provincias, præteritarum cladium congerie feſſas, &c. *Ammian. lib* 20.

ple, having violated the peace, and broken into the fixed limits of the empire in that iſland, were ravaging the provinces of it, which filled with terror the provincials ſpent and wearied with their former invaſions in times paſt. Upon this news, the *Cæſar Julian*, then reſiding in *Gaul*, began to give orders for repulſing of them, *&c.* which, nevertheleſs, as appears by the following part of *Ammian*'s hiſtory, was not effectually done till about the year 367 or 368, that the general *Theodoſius* was ſent over to *Britain* by *Valentinian* I.

It is to be remarked in this narrative of *Ammian*, that though this be the firſt time that the *Scots* are mentioned by him, or indeed by any certain writer of or before theſe times, yet it appears, by him, that the *Scots* were already looked upon not only as formidable enemies of the empire in *Britain*, but that this was not the firſt time that the *Scots*, in conjunction with the *Picts*, had invaded and ravaged the *Roman* provinces in this iſland, ſince he adds, that the provincials were ſtruck with ſo much the greater terror of theſe enemies, that they were already quite wearied and ſpent with a great number of ravages they had made in former times. *Prætèritarum cladium congerie feſſas*, &c

From this, I conceive, it follows, that the *Scots* muſt have been ſome conſiderable time before this ſettled in the iſland, before they could ve-

able to make ſo conſiderable a figure in *Britain* as to be taken notice of by *Ammian*, as being no leſs dangerous enemies of the empire in *Britain* than the *Picts* or *Caledonians*.

Now this may very well agree with the placing the coming in of *Eocha Riada* (the ſame as *Beda*'s *Reuda*) the firſt leader of the colony of the *Scots* into *Britain* about the beginning of the third age. It is like he brought over, at firſt, but a ſmall number, not to give jealouſy to the ancient inhabitants of theſe parts, the *Caledonians*; but in the ſpace of one hundred, or about one hundred and fifty years, that paſſed betwixt the time of their firſt coming in, and their being mentioned by *Ammian*, *A. D.* 360, they might have ſo increaſed both within themſelves, and by acceſſion of new auxiliaries from *Ireland*, that the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, finding them ſerviceable in their wars againſt the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*, were eaſily diſpoſed to enlarge the poſſeſſions of the *Scots* on the north-weſtern coaſts of the iſland, in proportion as the *Caledonians* themſelves (*a*) enlarged their own bounds, by new conqueſts, to the ſouth of the *Friths*. And thence it happened that the *Scots* made ſo conſiderable a figure in *Britain*, according to *Ammian*, about the middle of the ſixth century. But we might have had a much more full account, both of the *Scots* and of

(*a*) Supra, p. 93, 94.

the other ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, had that book of *Ammian* been preſerved, in which, as he tells (*a*) us, he had given a deſcription of *Britain*.

ACCORDING to the antiquaries of *Ireland*, this colony of *Scots*, which was brought over and ſettled in *Britain* by *Eocha Riada*, began a laſting eſtabliſhment in this iſland. *Our writers* (*b*), ſays *D. Kenedy*, *unanimouſly tell us, that* Eocha (he calls him *Carbre*) Riada, *was the founder of the* Scotiſh *ſovereignty in* Britain; *but they make him only a captain, as* Bede *does, or conductor; who ingratiated himſelf ſo far with the* Picts, *by his and his children's good ſervice againſt the* Britons, *that they conſented that they and their followers ſhould continue among them.* It is true, this ſame writer adds a little afterwards, that theſe firſt *Scots*, who ſettled in *Britain*, had not laid aſide *thoughts* of returning back ſome time or other into their mother-country *Ireland*; but their continuing ever after, they and their poſterity, to inhabit *Britain*, demonſtrates that they had no ſuch *thoughts*: and this writer himſelf tells us (*c*), that about one hundred years after their coming, *Fergus Ulidian*, who, according to him, was great grandchild to *Eocha Riada*, and chief of the *Dalriadians* in *Ireland*, did, about the beginning of the fourth century,

(*a*) Ammian. p. 347.
(*b*) Ken. Geneal. p. 107.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 130.

ſtrengthen

ſtrengthen the Dalriadian *colony in* Pictland *with new ſupplies, as his ſucceſſors continued to do from time to time:* And he informs us afterwards, (*a*) that about *A. D.* 386, *Niel* king of *Ireland* came over to the north of *Britain*, and oblig'd the *Picts* to draw off what families *they had in* Cantyre *and* Argyle, *and ſuffer the* Dalriadys *to inhabit alone that ſide of the country, and live ſeparately without any mixture of* Pictiſh *families; to the end they might be the more ſecure from any inſults or oppreſſion of the* Picts, who, it ſeems, were become jealous of their increaſing, and therefore had endeavoured to keep them under, *and diſpers'd* them in different Cantons, mixed with *Pictiſh* Families.

I RELATE this on the credit of this Writer, who gives us theſe particulars of the *Dalriadys*, or *Scots* in *Britain* in theſe early times, as taken from the accounts of them, left by the *Iriſh* Seanachies. By which it appears at leaſt, that the traditions of their antiquaries were, that the *Scots*, from their firſt coming into the north of *Britain*, and beginning a ſettlement under *Eocha Riada* their firſt leader, towards the beginning of the third century, had ſtill continued, without interruption, to inhabit thoſe parts till this time, that is, till towards the end of the fourth age.

BUT we have a more certain account from the *Roman* and *Britiſh* writers, of their continuing

(*a*) Ken. Gen p. 133.

to make a conſiderable figure in *Britain*, from *A. D.* 360. when the name of *Scots* is firſt mentioned by *Ammian*, and a chronological ſeries of their expeditions, in conjunction with the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, againſt the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*, as long as *Britain* remained united to the *Empire*; and down till the fifth age.

We have already given account from *Ammian*, of that irruption of the *Scots* and *Picts* on the provincial *Britains*, *A. D.* 360. Now the *Cæſar Julian*, who was then in *Gaul*, being wholly taken up with the ambitious deſign of uſurping the empire, and ſupplanting his uncle the emperor *Conſtantius*, put no effectual remedy to the diſorders of *Britain*: So the *Picts* and *Scots* made daily new progreſs, and it appears by the ſame (*a*) *Ammian*, that upon *Valentinian* I's coming to the empire, *A. D.* 364. he found among other *Roman* provinces invaded by the barbarous nations in their neighbourhood, thoſe of *Britain* expoſed to the ravages, not only of the *Picts* and *Scots*, but that the example of their impunity had drawn alſo in upon the *Britains* other new enemies, to wit, the *Saxons* and the *Attacoti*.

VALENTINIAN finding the empire attack'd all at once on ſo many ſides, was not in condition ſo ſoon to ſend aſſiſtance to the *Britains*;

(*a*) Ammian. lib. 26. pag. 315.

ſo the *Picts* and *Scots* advanced daily in the *Britiſh* provinces, and their numbers and boldneſs increaſing by their ſucceſs, they killed *Follafaudus* (*a*) a *Roman* general, and *Nectarides* count of the maritime coaſts. At laſt, *A. D.* 367, the emperor receiving daily more terrifying accounts of the progreſs of theſe enemies in *Britain*, found it neceſſary to confide the conduct of that war to one of the moſt famous generals of the empire, *Theodoſius*, father to the firſt emperor of that name.

THEODOSIUS (*b*), being arrived in *Britain* with a powerful army, obliged the enemies to retire, delivered the city of *London* from the apprehenſions it had been expos'd to, by the approach of theſe Enemies; and, in a word, forced them out of the bounds of the empire in *Britain*. The poet *Claudian*, in two of his panegyricks on the emperor *Honorius*, grand-child to this general *Theodoſius*, gives the following account of this expedition in theſe words in (*c*) one of them.

Ille leves Mauros, nec falſo nomine Pictos
Edomuit; Scotumque vago mucrone ſecutus
Fregit Hyberboreas remis audacibus undas.

(*a*) Ammian. lib. 27. p. 346.
(*b*) Idem, pag. 347.
(*c*) Claudian. Panegyr. in III Conſulat. Honor. Imperat. pag. 114.

And

And in the other (*a*),

Ille Caledoniis poſuit qui caſtra pruinis.
——— incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule;
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

THESE expreſſions are ſuppos'd by ſome learned writers to import, that this *Roman* general chaſed the *Scots* over the Sea into *Ireland*. But we are not, I conceive, to preſs poetical hyperboles to the rigour of the letter; otherwiſe we muſt ſuppoſe alſo, that *Theodoſius* purſued the *Picts* to *Thule*, and there made a great ſlaughter of them: whereas 'tis like, that neither *Claudian*, nor the *Romans* knew where *Thule* was ſituated: however, as to the *Scots*, it appears to me, that long after their firſt ſettlement in *Britain*, they ſtill continued to live in a cloſe union with the *Scots* in *Ireland*, as being one and the ſame people; and that beſides thoſe already eſtabliſhed in *Argyle*, *Cantyre*, in the weſtern iſles, *&c.* others of them were accuſtomed in thoſe early times to come over in greater or ſmaller numbers from *Ireland* to *Britain*, as occaſion offer'd, either to enlarge the poſſeſſions of the *Scots* in *Britain*, or to march as auxiliaries in conjunction with the *Scots* in *Britain*, and, with the *Picts*, to make inroads or excurſions into the *Roman* provinces, and that in caſe of any

(*a*) Claudian. Paneg. in IV Conſulat. Honor. Imp. p. 11.

great

great defeat; as it happened in this expedition of *Theodoſius*, they had always a ſafe retreat, ſome of them to the extremities of the weſtern coaſts, or iſlands of *Britain*; others of them, eſpecially thoſe that had come over only as adventurers or auxiliaries, back to *Ireland*, to wait, when the enemy retired, for a new opportunity of preying on the *Britains*.

HOWEVER, as to the poet *Claudian*'s expreſſions, the words *hyperboreas undas* may be at leaſt as naturally underſtood of the northern friths, over which this general purſued the *Scots* and *Picts*, as of the ocean, and ſuppoſing by *Ierne* is meant *Ireland*, it was very natural for the *Scots* in *Ireland* to lament the ſlaughter of ſo great a number, *cumulos*, of their friends and kinſmen, as *Theodoſius* had killed of the *Scots* in *Britain*: Beſides the loſs of a great number of adventurers or auxiliary *Scots*, natives of *Ireland* that came over, as it hath been obſerved, in theſe early times to join thoſe in *Britain* in their expeditions againſt the provincials.

THEODOSIUS, to ſecure them againſt thoſe irruptions of their northern enemies, fortify'd anew the northern wall, and made it again the boundary of the empire, as it had been ſettled 230 years before under the empire of *Antonin*, and placed (*a*) guards and garriſons on it to watch and oppoſe

(*a*) Limites vigiliis tuebatur & præturis. *Ammian.*

the enemy's motions. But the moſt remarkable action of this general in *Britain*, was the erecting all the territories betwixt the ſouthern wall in *Northumberland*, and the northern at the *Friths* into a fifth *Roman* province in *Britain*, and calling it after the emperor, by the name of *Valentia*. I abridge thoſe accounts which may be treated of more at length in the ſecond part of this eſſay. *Theodoſius* left the iſland, and returned in triumph, *A. D.* 370, to the emperor.

A. D. 383, *Maximus*, having uſurped the empire in *Britain*, before he left the iſland, repulſed with great vigour, and overcame the *Scots* and *Picts*, according to *Gregory* (*a*) of *Tours*, and the chronicle of *Tiro Proſper* (*b*); and this is all the ground I find in ancient writers of the ſubverſion of the *Scotiſh* ſtate by *Maximus*, which is ſet down at ſuch length in *Fordun*: but their defeat by *Theodoſius* looks more like a ſubverſion, than what happen'd under *Maximus*, who, upon his uſurpation, paſſed immediately over to *Gaul*, and ſurprized the emperor *Gratian*, having carried over with him all the regular troops from *Britain*.

A. D. 398, the *Scots* and *Picts*, having made uſe of the opportunity of *Maximus*'s carrying along with him to *Gaul* the flower of the *Britiſh*

(*a*) Greg. Turon's hiſt.
(*b*) Tiro Proſper. in antiq. lect. Canſ.

youths

youth and beſt troops, had made ſuch great progreſs in ravaging the *Britiſh* provinces, that theſe provinces were almoſt quite ruined, and lived in perpetual dread and terror of the *Picts*, who were joined, not only by the *Scots* in *Britain*, but by new levies of *Scots* in *Ireland*. This account of the miſerable condition of theſe provinces being brought to *Stilicho* the *Roman* general, under *Honorius* the emperor, he ſent over new forces to *Britain* against the *Scots* and *Picts*; and cauſed the northern wall to be fortified anew againſt their irruptions. All this is in ſhort related by *Claudian* (*a*), where he brings in *Britain* lamenting its periſhing condition, till *Stilicho* ſent over thoſe forces to its aſſiſtance.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit
[Britannia]
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, &c.

But theſe auxiliary forces did not remain long in *Britain*; for *A. D.* 402, among the ſeveral troops which, by *Stilicho*'s order, came to join him before the battle of *Pollentum* againſt the *Goths*, *Claudian* marks among others the *Roman* troops, that guarded the wall in *Britain* in the extremity of the iſland againſt the irruptions of the *Scots* and *Picts*.

(*a*) Claudian. lib. 2. de Laudibus Stilichonis.

Venit

Venit & extremis legio Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras (*a*).

The poet here, by an ordinary metaphor, calls the forces that guarded the frontiers of the *British* provinces, a legion, though there uſed to be always more than one legion placed there to oppoſe theſe northern enemies. However, the removal of theſe troops gave theſe enemies a favourable opportunity of breaking in upon the provinces.

A. D. 409, the *Britains*, after calling in vain for aſſiſtance againſt theſe enemies from the *Romans*, and encouraged, ſays *Zozimus* (*b*), by letters from the emperor *Honorius*, to do the beſt they could for themſelves, reſolved at laſt to ſhake off their dependence on the empire, and endeavour to defend their country with their own forces; but they ſoon found the diſmal effects of their preſuming too much on their own forces, as appears by the relation of *Gildas* and of *Bede*.

BUT before I proceed farther, it is neceſſary to take notice of ſome expreſſions of theſe two laſt hiſtorians, which ſome learned *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* writers have endeavoured to wreſt againſt the

(*a*) Claudian. de bello Getico, pag. 107.
(*b*) Zozim. hiſt. lib. 6. pag. 376 & 381.

ancient

ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, in the manner that I have here accounted for it.

AND 1°. 'tis to be obſerved, that *Bede*, after having in the firſt chapter of his hiſtory given a ſhort account of the firſt coming of the *Picts* and *Scots* into *Britain*, as being next to the *Britains*, the moſt ancient inhabitants of this iſland; he never mentions again either the one or the other of them, till the twelfth chapter, when, upon the occaſion above-mentioned of the *Britains* ſhaking off *A. D.* 409. all dependence upon the empire, and reſolving to defend their country by their own forces, they became an eaſy prey to the northern inhabitants of the iſland, the *Scots* and the *Picts*, the terror of whom forced the *Britains* at laſt to call in the *Saxons* to their aid; which gave occaſion to *Bede* to mention again the *Scots* and the *Picts*.

FROM this we may learn (and 'tis of importance to take notice of it for many other occurrences in the hiſtory of theſe northern people) how weak the arguments are, which are drawn from the bare ſilence of *Bede*, concerning the tranſactions among the *Scots* and the *Picts*; or indeed, concerning any of the inhabitants of *Britain*, excepting the *Saxons* or *Engliſh* alone. For whoſoever will read *Bede*'s hiſtory with attention, will eaſily find, that after the *Saxons* or *Engliſh* (the great object of his hiſtory) were come and ſettled in the iſland, he ſcarce ever mentions either the *Scots* or the

the *Picts*, or even the old *Britains*; but upon occaſion of the *Saxons*, and of ſome tranſaction among thoſe ancient people, neceſſary to give light into the hiſtory of the *Saxons*. Thus, as it would be a very falſe concluſion to argue from the ſilence of *Bede*, that there never were in *Britain* any ſuch people as *Caledonians*, becauſe *Bede* never mentions them, or that the ſame people known by the name of *Picts*, and the *Scots*, from their firſt entry into this iſland, had lain wholly unactive and made no figure in *Britain* till *A. D.* 409; whereas the contrary is evident by the certain teſtimony of the *Roman* writers concerning the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, and by that of the ſame *Roman* and even *Iriſh* writers concerning the *Scots*, as we have juſt now made appear; ſo it were againſt the equity and candor becoming a faithful writer, to refuſe to credit any other tranſaction among the old *Britains*, *Picts* or *Scots* preciſely, becauſe it is not mentioned by *Bede*. However, it muſt be acknowledg'd at the ſame time, that the *Scots*, and all the other inhabitants of *Britain*, owe very great obligation to *Bede* for the knowledge of a great many ancient accounts of their hiſtory, of which, without *Bede*'s mentioning them, they had remained wholly ignorant: tho' he generally does not mention them, but as far as they interfere with the church hiſtory of the *Saxons*, or *Engliſh*, which is all that *Bede* promiſes by the title of his book, *Hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica gentis Anglorum*.

2. *GILDAS*,

2° *GILDAS*, ſpeaking of the *Picts* and *Scots*, calls them (*a*) *Tranſmarinæ gentes*. From which expreſſion biſhop *Uſher* and Dr. *Stillingfleet* would conclude, that the *Scots*, who invaded the *Britains*, were as yet, that is, about *A. D.* 422. all of them inhabitants of *Ireland*, and none of them hitherto ſettled in *Britain*; but beſides, that *Gildas*, in this place, calls equally the *Picts*, as much as the *Scots*, *tranſmarine*, or a people from beyond the ſeas; tho' no body doubts, but the *Picts* were long before ſettled in the Iſland. *Bede*, who in the firſt chapter of his hiſtory, had deſcribed the *Scots* among the ancient inhabitants of this iſland, reckoning the *Britains* the firſt, in the next place the *Picts*, and the *Scots* the third people who ſettled in *Britain*; accordingly explains this expreſſion of *Gildas*, and informs us, that the *Picts* and *Scots* are called *Tranſmarinæ gentes*, people from beyond the ſeas, (*b*) *not that they dwelt out of the iſland of* Britain, *but that their habitations in the iſland were ſeparated from thoſe of the* Britains *by the two arms of the Sea, or the friths of Clyde and Forth.*

(*a*) Gild. cap. 11.

(*b*) Tranſmarinas autem dicimus has gentes [*Pictorum & Scotorum*] non quod extra Britanniam eſſent poſitæ, ſed quia a parte Britonum erant remotæ, duobus finibus maris interjacentibus, quorum unus ab orientali mare, alter ab occidentali, Britanniæ terras longe lateque irrumpit, quamvis ad ſe invitem pertingere poſſint, &c. *Bed hiſt.* lib. 1. c. 13.

3°. *Uſher* and *Stillingfleet* ſeem to triumph upon another expreſſion of (*a*) *Gildas* copied by *Bede*, (*b*) *Revertuntur impudentes graſſatores hyberni domum* And where could he, ſay they, the home of the *Hyberni*, but *Hybernia* or *Ireland?* Whence they infer, that the *Scots* were as yet about *A. D.* 447. ſtill inhabitants of *Ireland*. But in the firſt place, it ought to be conſidered, that in the language of *Bede* and of other writers of thoſe times, the names *Hyberni* and *Scoti* were as yet ſynonymous, and given to the ſame people inhabitants of *Ireland* and *Britain*; and that the name *Hyberni* was made uſe of in thoſe early times to expreſs, not only the inhabitants of *Ireland*, but thoſe alſo of *Britain* that had their origin from *Ireland*, that ſpoke the ſame language, and were as yet look'd upon as the ſame people, though ſeparated by their habitations, in the ſame manner as the term *Saxones* was applied, both to the inhabitants of *Britain* and to thoſe of *Germany* from whom they had their origin. And for a proof of the promiſcuous uſage of the names *Hyberni* and *Scoti*, theſe very ſame people, who are here (*cap.* 14) called *Hyberni*, are called by the ſame *Bede*, *Scoti*, both at their ſetting out upon this expedition (*cap.* 12.) and in his chronicle. And as to the application of the name *Hyberni*, or *Iriſh*, to the *Scots* in *Britain*, beſides other examples, we find as far down as the fourteenth age

(*a*) Gild. c. 19.
(*b*) Bed. lib. 1. c. 14.

the name of *Iriſchery* (*a*) given to the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, becauſe of their origin from *Ireland*, and of the *Iriſh* language that they ſtill continue to ſpeak.

In the ſecond place we have already obſerved, that the *Scots*, who were ſettled in *Britain*, were, in their expeditions againſt the old *Britains*, frequently aſſiſted by auxiliaries or adventurers that came over from *Ireland*, both in order to ſtrengthen the forces of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and many of them no doubt in hopes of prey and carrying off captives, which, when the expeditions were over, ſome of them carried along with them back to *Ireland*, whilſt others remained to fortify and augment the colony of the *Scots* in *Britain*; and that upon any great defeat, as it happened in the expedition of the general *Theodoſius*, many of them uſed to retire to the extremities of the north-weſtern coaſts or neighbouring iſlands of *Britain*, or even to *Ireland*. Wherefore, to anſwer now the queſtion of theſe learned writers, where ſhould the home of the *Hyberni* or *Scoti* be but in *Ireland*? If they were of the *Scots* already ſettled in *Britain*, they paſſed home to their own dwellings in and about *Argyle*, and the north-weſtern coaſts of *Britain*. But if they were only adventurers, that came over either as auxiliaries, or to prey upon or carry off captives from the *Britains*, moſt of

(*a*) Archdeacon *Barber* in the life of K. *Robert the Bruce*.

them went home again to *Ireland*, others perhaps remained with their friends in the north of *Britain*, ready to march with them upon a new expedition, as they ſhould find opportunity (*a*). *Non poſt multum temporis reverſuri.*

BUT I wonder, that theſe learned men reflect not upon the little appearance there ſeems to be, of armies of men coming ſo often from (*b*) *Ireland* over ſo dangerous a ſea, and the rapid tides that run between *Ireland* and *Britain*; and that upon their *corroughs*, *curucæ*, as *Gildas* calls them: and what a number of thoſe *corroughs* was requiſite to tranſport armies of men, if they were ſuch as the *corroughs* made uſe of as yet in ſome places of *Scotland*, which can contain conveniently but two men at once? One would think it more natural to underſtand by the ſea, which they had to paſs, the *Friths* of *Clyde* or *Forth*, in ſome places not very broad, and where the *corroughs* would run no great risk, than a rapid part of the ocean; and that the quality of the veſſels, *curucæ*, in which *Gildas* tells us they us'd to tranſport their troops, would rather ſerve for a new proof, that theſe *Scoti* or *Hyberni*, that ſo often infeſted the *Britains*, were inland inhabitants of *Britain*, who were ſeparated from the *Britains* only by the *Friths*, which they eaſily paſſed over. And this is farther confirmed

(*a*) Gild. & Bed. ibid.

(*b*) Anniverſarias predas cogere ſolebant. Bed. ibid.

by

by *Gildas* (*a*) telling us, that the *Scots* came *trans Stiticam vallem*, as it was in the former editions, inſtead of *Sciticam*, over the valley which the *Frith* of *Clyde* made betwixt the habitations of the *Scots* and *Britains*; for as it hath been elſewhere (*b*) obſerved, *Sciticus* and *Scoticus* are uſed for the ſame: but I cannot underſtand how the paſſage from *Ireland* to any part of *Britain* can be called *vallis*, a valley, whether it be called *Scitica vallis*, or *Tithica* as Dr. *Galet*'s edition hath it.

3°. Dr. *STILLINGFLEET* expatiates upon the injurious names of *impudentes graſſatores* and the like, that *Gildas* gives to the *Scots* and *Picts* that ravaged the *Britains*, and draws inferences from them againſt the *Scots* being ſettled in *Britain*. But in the firſt place, I hope, *Gildas* calling the *Scots* invaders or pillagers of the *Britains*, (or if he will, robbers) does not make them outlandiſh, ſince there are inland as well as outlandiſh plunderers or pillagers. Whilſt *Scotland* and *England* were under two diſtinct ſoveraigns, every body knows what havock they uſed to make reciprocally upon the one and the other kingdom: and carry home prey and captives with them, tho' they were both inland inhabitants of the ſame iſland; and as to the injurious names that *Gildas* gives to the *Scots*, I would be very ſorry to imitate Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in drawing

(*a*) Gild. c. 15.

(*b*) Supra, p 536. &c.

conſequences from the names that the ſame *Gildas* gives to the *Saxons*, nor will I be ſo uncivil as even to tranſlate (*a*) *Gildas*'s words, where, ſpeaking of the firſt recruit that was ſent to the *Saxons* into *Britain*, he thus expreſſes himſelf, *Supra dicta genitrix* (meaning the country of the *Saxons* or *Engliſh*) *primo comperiens agmini fuiſſe proſperatum, item mittit ſatellitum canumque protixiorem cataſtam, quæ ratibus advecta, adunatur cum manipularibus ſpuriis.* It ought to be conſider'd here, that *Gildas* beholding his country, ſo flouriſhing of old, put by the *Saxons* to fire and ſword; and the old *Britains* his countrymen either maſſacred, or reduced for refuge to fly into corners of the iſland, or into foreign countries, was equally exaſperated againſt the *Saxons*, as being the immediate authors of theſe calamities, and againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, whoſe invaſions had obliged the *Britains* to call in the *Saxons*. And therefore he never ſpeaks of the one or the other, but in the bittereſt terms that the anguiſh of his heart could ſuggeſt. An impartial writer, to judge aright, ought to have regard as well to the circumſtances, paſſions, and temper of an author, whom he quotes, as to the letter of his expreſſions; and that is all I ſhall ſay.

THIS being premiſed to return to the chronological account of the *Scots* in *Britain*, I ſhall on-

(*a*) Gild. c. 23.

ly touch the laſt invaſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and refer the reader to *Gildas*, and *Bede*'s narrations for a more full account of them.

A. D. 422. the *Britains*, who had ſhaken off their dependence on the empire, *A. D.* 409. finding by experience they were not able to defend their country againſt the *Scots* and the *Picts* (*a*), after having groaned ſome years under the oppreſſion of theſe enemies, were forced to make new application to the *Romans*, who ſent over to them forces, which overcame the *Scots* and *Picts*, and cauſed the northern wall between the *Friths* to be repaired, and left the *Britains* to do for themſelves.

A. D. 426. (*b*) the *Scots* and *Picts* leaving the wall, broke in over the *Friths* upon the *Britains*, which obliged them to have recourſe again to the *Romans*; who ſent over new forces, who, after repulſing the enemies, cauſed the *Northumberland* wall to be repaired, and took leave of the *Britains* for the laſt time. Upon which the *Picts* took poſſeſſion of all the extremities of the *Roman* part of the iſland, that is, of all the territories that compoſed the province of *Valentia*; and no doubt the *Scots* alſo made uſe of this opportunity to enlarge their bounds in the north of the iſland; and both the *Picts* and *Scots* joined to attack the *Northumbrian* wall: and thus theſe northern enemies continued to pillage and op-

(*a*) Gild. cap. 12. Bed. lib. 1. c. 12.
(*b*) Gildas & Bed. ibid.

preſs the *Britains*, till they, after ſeeking in vain new ſuccours from the *Romans*, called in at laſt the *Saxons* to their aid, who ſoon after turn'd their arms againſt them, pillaged the country, and took poſſeſſion of it, and forced the *Britains*, ſome of them to retire to corners of the iſland, others to abandon it.

By this ſhort account of the *Scots* in *Britain* in the earlieſt times, it appears at leaſt very probable, that from their firſt coming in under *Eocha Riada* in the third age, they ſtill remained inhabitants of *Britain*, and made a conſiderable figure during the fourth and fifth ages. And tho' in their expeditions againſt the *Romans* or provincials, they generally march'd in conjunction with the *Picts*, and had oft-times their own forces augmented by auxiliaries and new recruits of the *Scots* from *Ireland*; 'tis no ways likely, that they could have ſubſiſted all this time without ſome kind of government of their own in *Britain*, nor could that ſubſiſt without leaders or chiefs, one or more, both for uniting them when at home, and leading and conducting them in their expeditions; and ſince they came from *Ireland* where there were many leſſer kings I do not ſee why theſe leaders or chiefs of the *Scots* in *Britain*, might not have been called kings as well as ſome of thoſe of *Ireland* to whom the title is given, or even as ſome of thoſe of *England* during the heptarchy, or thoſe of the *Britons* or *Welch* in *Wales*, or in the weſt of *Scotland*. S

that the expreſſion we will find in the latin chronicle (*a*) in metre; *that the Scots in* Britain, *till the time of Fergus the ſon of* Erc, *lived without a king*, cannot reaſonably be taken in the rigour of the letter, as if abſolutely the *Scots* in *Britain* had not ſuch leſſer kings, as there were many in *Ireland*; but that his meaning is, that the poſſeſſions of the *Scots* in *Britain* were not before *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, united into one ſtate, and had not a formed government; in a word, that the *Scots* before the time of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, had no ſoveraign king over all the *Scotiſh* inhabitants of *Britain*, ſuch as *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* and his ſucceſſors were.

FOR it was this *Fergus*, as we ſhall preſently ſhew, who united all the *Scotiſh* inhabitants of the weſtern parts and iſle of *Britain*, together with the new colonies of *Scots*, that he brought along with him from *Ireland*, into one body of people, who extended their bounds in *Britain*, who freed them from all dependence on the *Picts* and on the *Scots* in *Ireland*, who erected their poſſeſſions in *Britain* into a ſoveraignty or independent monarchy, poliſhed them by laws, and ſettled order and ſubordination among them; and firſt took upon himſelf the ſoveraign authority, and (as *Fordun* the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, ſpeaking of his firſt king *Fergus*, expreſſes it) *Fergus* made himſelf *the firſt king over the* Scots, or as *Winton*,

(*a*) Append. n. 6.

who

who never ſaw *Fordun*'s hiſtory, expreſſes it in the language of his time.

Ye pat was callit Fergus-more (*a*)
In ye (*b*) thryd buke ze hard befor
Wes Fergus Erchz ſon, pat thre yhere
Maid him beyond the Drwm to Steir
Owre all the hychtis eber ilkane
As-yai ly fra Drumalbane (*c*)
Tyll Stanemore (*d*) and Incheȝal
Kyng he maid hym (*e*) owre thaim all.

ART II. *Of the firſt king of the* Scots *in* Britain.

ALL the *Scotiſh* hiſtorians, and all others that mention our kings, do generally agree, that the name of the firſt king of *Scots* in *Britain* was *Fergus*. But they are divided in this, whether it was *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, called *Fergus* the firſt, or *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, called *Fergus* the ſecond; who, according to the moſt ancient genealogy of our kings, lived about thirty two generations after the firſt *Fergus*. All the *Scotiſh* hiſtorians from *Fordun* downwards, or ſince his chronicle was publiſhed about *A. D.* 1447. have followed his opi-

(*a*) Winton. Chron. book IV. chap. VIII. Biblioth. Reg. Lond.

(*b*) Wint. book III. chap. IX.

(*c*) In marg. MS. *Drum Albane, the back of Albanie.*

(*d*) In the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s (whence this was taken) there is *Sluab*, *muere* or *more*.

(*e*) Himſelf.

nion

nion, and own *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard* for the firſt king of the *Scots*, and that he began his reign three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation; whereas they place the reign of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, or *Fergus* the ſecond, in the beginning of the fifth century of chriſtianity, as *Fordun* does.

BUT beſides that, this queſtion is already in a great meaſure decided againſt *Fordun* and his followers opinion, by all that hath been brought to prove, that the *Scots* were not ſettled even in *Ireland*, much leſs in *Britain*, till after the time of the incarnation, and ſo could have no king of their nation before that time, in either of theſe countries: beſides this, I ſay, *Fordun* himſelf, the moſt ancient of our writers that calls *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard* firſt king of the *Scots*, wrote near one hundred years after the time, that 'tis ſaid, that the monuments and records of our hiſtory were deſtroyed, or carried off by king *Edward* I. and he brings no document or proof from any credible authority to ſupport his opinion, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere.

WHEREAS all the remains, without exception, which we have of our ancient hiſtories or records, written, extracted or abridged from them, whilſt they were yet ſubſiſting, before the year 1291. all theſe remains, I ſay, far from authorizing *Fordun*'s new ſcheme, do all unanimouſly contradict it and agree, that *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* was the firſt king of the

the *Scots* in *Britain*. I have already (*a*) given an account of theſe monuments or remains of our ancient hiſtory, and they are all I ever met with concerning our ancient kings written before the year 1291. and each of them, that gives any account of the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Albany*, places *Fergus* ſon of *Ere* the firſt king, and that in plain terms; ſo as there needs no more but to ſet down their words without any commentary.

I SHALL not here alledge for a proof of *Fergus* ſon of *Ere* his being reckoned, in the twelfth age, the firſt ſoveraign king of the *Scots* in *Albany*, the teſtimony ſo plain of the firſt piece ſet down in the appendix to this eſſay, entituled, *De ſitu Albaniæ*, which was formerly quoted by *Camden*, (and upon his authority by other *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* writers) becauſe, as I have already obſerved (*b*), it appears to me, that the author of it was no *Scotſman*; but that it is probably a production of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*. The reader, if he pleaſes, may ſee it in the appendix (*c*), beginning by theſe words, *Fergus filius Eric, ipſe fuit primus qui de ſemine Chonare ſuſcepit regnum Albaniæ, &c.* This piece wants no commentary, being clear upon the point, whether *Girald* had this with the reſt of his informations

(*a*) Supra, p. 598. *&c.*
(*b*) Supra, p. 681.
(*c*) Appendix, num. I.

from

from *Andrew* biſhop of *Carenes*, he does not tell us. However, leaving this to the reader's judgment, I come to the teſtimony of *Scotiſh* writers.

I. THE firſt teſtimony that I ſhall bring, is from that ancient abſtract of our chronicles, intituled, *Chronica regum Scottorum*, *num.* 4. in the appendix and already (*a*) deſcrib'd. It begins thus, *Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de ſemine Conare ſuſcepit regnum Albaniæ, id eſt, a monte Drum Albain uſque ad mare Hyberniæ, & ad Inchegall. Iſte regnavit tribus annis. Domangart filius ejus quinque annis. Congal filius Domangart*, &c. and ſo continues to give the ſeries of our kings, with the years of their reigns, down to king *William* in the twelfth age, when it was abſtracted from our old chronicles, whilſt they were yet in being. This abſtract ends in the MS. with king *William*'s genealogy up to *Noah*, as it was then received. According to this genealogy, *Fergus-mor-mac-Erch* firſt of our kings, was in the thirteenth degree from *Conare* ſon to *Mogeloma*. The ſon of this *Conare* was *Eocha Riada*, who is thought to be the *Reuda*, mentioned by *Bede*, the leader of the firſt *Scotiſh* colony to *Britain*.

II. THE ſecond teſtimony is from a very authentick record, an ancient regiſter or chartulary of the

(*a*) Supra, p. 605.

church

church of St. *Andrew*'s, written in the beginning of the reign of king *Alexander* III. about the year 1251. whilſt our ancient chronicles were yet to be ſeen. In this regiſter, there is a ſeries or chronological (*a*) catalogue of the kings of *Scots*, down till the reign of *Alexander* III. whereof I have given an account already (*b*). And this ſeries, inſerted in that church regiſter, was preſerved from the general diſaſter which fell out forty years afterwards, as were generally all other church regiſters, records and libraries.

Now this ſeries of our kings contains, in as expreſs terms as the former teſtimonies, an account that *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* or *Erch* was the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*; for it begins thus, 1. *Fergus filius Erch primus in Scotia regnavit tribus annis ultra Drumalbain uſque Sluagmuner & uſque ad Inchegall*; 2. *Dounghart filius Fergus quinque annis regnavit*; 3. *Congall filius Douenghart*, &c. And thus continues down the ſeries of the kings of the *Scots*, till *Alpin* ſon of *Eocha* the twenty third king. After him he ſets down the catalogue of the *Pictiſh* kings, to the number of ſixty. And then follows out that of the kings of *Scotland*, from *Keneth* ſon of *Alpin*, down till king *Alexander* III. and gives a ſhort

(*a*) In append. n. 5.
(*b*) Supra, p. 606.

account

account of each king, ſuch as we find in other ancient ſhort chronicles of theſe times.

III. A third proof of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, his being the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, is furniſh'd us by *James Gray* publick notary and ſecretary to the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s, *William Schevez*, and prince *James* duke of *Roſs*, brother to king *James* IV, in the copy he hath given us in his collections (mention'd (*a*) elſewhere) of the ſeries and ſucceſſion of our kings, tranſcrib'd, as we remarked already, from ſome chronicle or record written during the reign of king *William*, and which is, (allowing difference in the expreſſions of no moment, and faults of copyiſts) as to the ſubſtance, entirely conformable to the forſaid extract of the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s. This tranſcript begins thus, *Fergus filius Herch primus regnavit in Scotia tribus annis ultra Druthin Alban uſque Sluaghmorre & uſque Inchgall. Dovenghard filius Fergus 5 annis regnavit. Congal filius Dovengard*, &c. in the very terms of the St. *Andrew*'s regiſter, except a wrong reading or tranſcribing the name *Drumalban*. So the agreement of this tranſcript of *James Gray*, with the extract of the regiſter, mutually corroborates one another, and, being written at ſo different times, the one about the middle of the thirteenth age, the other towards the end of the fifteenth, their agreement proves, that they both

(*a*) *Supra*, pag. 627.

had

had their accounts from the ſame ſource. But 'tis obſervable in *James Gray*'s account of the ſucceſſion of our kings, that having peruſed *Fordun*'s hiſtory, and being otherwiſe prevened by the common notions that the *Scots* had in his days of *Fergus* the ſon of *Ferchard*, his being the firſt king and founder of the monarchy; accordingly, before he ſets down the account of our kings, he prefixes a *Notandum* of his own conformable to the then common notion of the antiquity of the monarchy in the *Scotiſh* line. *Notandum*, ſays he, *quod regnum Scotiæ incepit ante incarnationem domini* 443. *annis*: yet being in a publick ſtation, and accuſtomed to draw up acts, or tranſcribe them faithfully, ſuch as he found them, he cauſed to be tranſcribed, without alteration, this account of the ſucceſſion of our kings, ſuch as he found it in ancient records, however oppoſite it was to his own, and to the common opinion of the *Scots* in thoſe days, and ever ſince *Fordun*'s chronicle had been publiſhed.

IV. It will no doubt appear a ſtrange paradox to bring the fourth teſtimony for *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, his being the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, from *John Fordun*. Since the whole deſign of the ſecond book of his chronicles, is to give us the hiſtory of *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, as firſt king of the *Scots*, and of forty-five other kings of *Scots* that ſucceeded him before *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*. But ſuch is the force of truth, on minds that are not wholly corrupted by a formed deſign to invent and impoſe,

impoſe, but only byaſſed by the popular opinions and prejudices of the times and circumſtances in which they live (which we ſhall ſee elſewhere was *Fordun*'s caſe) that they will not abſolutely ſmother all ancient teſtimonies, tho' oppoſite to the opinions they are imbarked in; but rather, in quoting them, endeavour to reconcile their own opinions with them. *John Fordun*, in his ſearches for memorials of our hiſtory, had no doubt ſeen theſe ancient abſtracts of our ancient chronicles I have quoted above, or others equivalent, and read in them the words I have ſet down, (*a*) *viz.* that *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* was the firſt king of the *Scotiſh* race; that he reigned from *Drum Albayn* to *Inchgall*, and that he reigned only three years, which are the words of the extracts above mentioned: but if they be let paſs without a commentary, and be taken in their literal meaning, they are enough to ſubvert the whole fabrick of *Fordun*'s forty-five kings before *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*.

WHEREFORE, to obviate that inconveniency, *Fordun* ſuppoſes a ſubverſion of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in the fourth age, upon the grounds we ſhall elſewhere examine, and by conſequence a reſtoration of the monarchy by *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, which gives *Fordun* a kind of ground to call this *Fergus* firſt king of the *Scots*, *viz.* after their reſtoration; and adds, that towards the latter end of his reign, which he ſuppoſes laſted ſixteen years; he gained ſome lands (he owns he knows not how)

(*a*) Fordun lib. 3. c. 2. pag. 173. edit. Hearn.

beyond *Drumalbayn*, and was the firſt king of the *Scotiſh* race, that reigned three years in the *Pictiſh* land, from the hills to the *Scotiſh* ſea. But all this varniſh will not cover the conformity of his expreſſion, with thoſe of the extracts from our old chronicles which I have related, nor hinder them, if taken alone, from having the ſame meaning among all unprejudiced perſons. The words are theſe [*Fergus filius Erch*] *tribus* [ultimis] *annis ultra Drumalbayn, hoc eſt, ultra dorſum Albaniæ primus regum Scotici generis* [in terra Pictorum] *a montibus ad mare* [Scoticum] *regnavit.* What is here incloſed in crotchets, are *Fordun*'s interpolations of our old chronicles, to adapt them to his ſyſtheme.

But a manifold proof of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, his having been the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, is drawn from the ſhort chronicle of the *Scots* in latin *rhythm*, or verſes, inſerted at the end of moſt of the copies of the *Scotichronicon*; as an ancient abridgment of our hiſtory, printed in the appendix num 5. I have given an account (*a*) of it already, to which I refer the reader. The firſt part of this ſhort chronicle ends with the death of king *William*, and with the eighth chapter, and was written about the time of king *Alexander* II or III, as appears by the beginning of the ninth chapter.

(*a*) Supra, p. 608.

V. The

V. THE firſt proof drawn from this chronicle of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, his being counted the firſt king of *Scots*, is taken from the fifth chapter; where the author ſuppoſing, according to a tradition already received in thoſe days, that the *Scots* came to *Britain* before the incarnation, informs us, that they lived in *Argyle* a very long time according to the law of nature (ſo he expreſſes it) but without any king, till one, called *Fergus*, brought over from *Ireland* the famous ſtone to *Argyle*, and became the firſt king of the *Scots*.

(*a*) *In tamen Ergadia vixit per tempora multa*
Hæc gens [Scottorum] *ſub lege naturæ, ſed ſine rege,*
Donec ad Ergadiam tulit audax nomine quidam
Ferguſius lapidem, de quo ſit mentio pridem:
Hic primus rexit Scotos, lapidem quia vexit:
Quem Scoti lapidem ſanxerunt ponere ſedem
Regibus inde ſuis tantum, ſed non alienis.

THAT this *Fergus* was the ſon of *Erc*, the whole ſeries of this chronicle, continued in the next and following chapters, ſufficiently demonſtrates; for he begins the next chapter immediately following the verſes above ſet down, by telling us, that this *Fergus was the firſt that reign'd in Argyle*, and that he reigned *three years*, that *he was ſucceeded by* Donegard *who reign'd five*, and *he by* Congall, &c. all which characters, as they agree to this *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* and to no other; ſo they

(*a*) Chron. Rythm. *cap.* 5.

perfectly agree with the three former catalogues of our kings in every thing, in which they differ from *Fordun* and his followers new catalogue of our kings immediate ſucceſſors to *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*. Theſe are the words of this ſhort chronicle, cap. 6.

Primus in Argadia Fergus rexit tribus annis
Poſt Donegard quinis, Congal quater octo bis, &c.

VI. A ſecond proof is drawn from what the author of this chronicle tells us, *cap.* 6. that the *Scots* reigned in *Britain* together with the *Picts* 332, or 312 years three months: for the verſes following will bear either of thoſe explications.

[Scoti] *Hi cum prædictis regnarunt tempore Pictis*
Quod trecentenos quater octoque continet annos,
His annis & tres debetis jungere menſes. cap. 6.

Now its certain that by the middle of the ninth age, the *Picts* ceaſed to make a diſtinct people and kingdom by their union and ſubjection to the *Scots*; ſo counting backward from this union, the number of years here aſſigned, will not reach back farther than the time of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, in the fifth or ſixth age, and comes many ages ſhort of *Fergus* I. who is ſuppoſed to have lived 330 years before the coming of *Chriſt*, that is, near twelve hundred years before the union of the *Scots* and *Picts*.

VII.

VII. 3° THIS ſhort chronicle aſſures us, that king *Alexander* III. was the fifty firſt king of the *Scots*.

ALEXANDER III.

(*a*) *Qui quinquagenus regum fuit ordine primus.*

And this ſuppoſes clearly, that *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* was the firſt king, there being juſt fifty-one kings in this author's account, as well as in that of the above-mentioned *chronica regum Scotorum*, and in that of the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, from *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, down to king *Alexander* III. This ſame author calls afterwards, *c.* 10. king *John Baliol* the fifty-ſecond king.

Before I leave this *Chron. Rythm.* or ſhort chronicle in latin verſes, 'tis of importance, towards preventing any miſtake by alterations in it, to obſerve, that in ſeveral copies of the *Scotichronicon*, at the end of which, this *Chron. Rythmicum* is to be found, there is, beſides other additions, an interpolation at the end of the ſeventh chapter, containing ſome latin verſes for the moſt part extracted out of different places of *Fordun*'s chronicle, and put together in this interpolation without any ſuit or coherence; and the whole ſo oddly and unskilfully inſerted in the *Chronicon Rythmicum*, that tho' we had not a fair and genuine ancient copy of it, without any interpolation in the MS. *Scotichronicon* in Vellum, of the *Scotiſh* college at *Paris*; the interpolation would viſibly appear to any that reads the whole piece with attention to the ſenſe and coherence.

(*a*) Cap. 9.

FOR the ſixth chapter of this *Chron. Rythm.* to which is ſubjoin'd this interpolation, finiſhes the ſhort account of the ſucceſſion of our firſt kings, by telling us, that *Kenneth* ſon of *Alpin*, reign'd ſeven years over the *Scots*, before he ſubdued the *Picts*; and then, after adding the number of years that the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kings reign'd together in *Albany*, which ends this ſixth chapter, the ſeventh chapter, which immediately follows, continues on naturally to tell us, how long this king *Kenneth* reigned after he overcame the *Picts*; and ſo continues down the ſucceſſion of our kings where the ſixth chapter left off from this king *Kenneth*, till *Malcolm Keanmor*'s children deſcended, partly of the *Scottiſh*, partly of the *Saxon* blood, by queen *Margaret* their mother.

NOW 'tis betwixt the ſixth and this ſeventh chapter, which follow ſo naturally one another, that the unskilful interpolator has placed his addition, taking 1°. out of *cap.* 35. *lib.* 2. of *Fordun*, the verſes *Chriſti tranſactis tribus annis atque ducentis, &c.* giving account of the firſt planting of chriſtianity in *Scotland*. 2°. To theſe he hath added new verſes of his own fabrick, containing the coming in of *S. Palladius*, according to *Fordun*'s account of it. 3°. He joins to thoſe, without any coherence, *Fordun*'s verſes (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 12.) *Albion in terris rex primus germine Scotus*, &c. deſcribing *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard* as firſt king of the *Scots*: and this in plain contradiction to the *Chron. Rythm.* to which

which he hath tack'd them: whether with a deſign to elude, or embroil the diſtinct account and manifold teſtimonies it contains of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, his being the firſt king of the *Scots*, I leave to others to judge.

BUT to return now from this digreſſion: theſe are all the monuments written before the year 1291, that give any account of the ſucceſſion or ſeries of the kings of the *Scots*, that hitherto I have had occaſion to meet with. And it is not improper to take notice, that they are almoſt all of them written in different places, by different authors, and on different occaſions, without communication; and yet all agree together exactly in the ſame names, order, and number of kings, and in placing *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* as the firſt of them; and equally differ from *Fordun* and his followers.

PERHAPS this eſſay may give occaſion to the curious and learned of our country or elſewhere, to diſcover and remark other ancient pieces of the ſame tenor. But I dare confidently affirm beforehand, that in no genuine writer before the year 1291, and our conteſts with king *Edward* I. about the year 1300, will be found any certain account of the firſt forty kings, or of any ſovereign kings at all of the *Scots* in *Britain* before *Fergus* the ſon of *Erc*. And now I refer it to the judgment of any impartial man, whether the authority of the monuments I have here made uſe of, however ſhort

and lame they may appear, all written by authors who had before them our genuine ancient writers as yet in being, and who extracted with ſimplicity from them a ſhort account of the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy and ſucceſſion of the kings; whether, I ſay, authors, ſo well inform'd and ſo void in all appearance of prejudice and deſign, their teſtimony be not preferable to the contradictory accounts given of the monarchy, and of our ancient kings by poſterior authors, deprived of the help of our genuine ancient chronicles, and byaſſed by ſo many prejudices.

VIII. To confirm what the monuments, I have already cited, unanimouſly affirm of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, his being the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Albany*, I ſhall as yet bring for an eighth teſtimony, the authority of one author, who, though he lived after *Fordun* or about his time, yet he never ſaw his work, which was not as yet publiſh'd, or, at leaſt, generally known till about *A. D.* 1447, or 1448. probably after this author's death. This is *Andrew Winton* prior of *Lochlevin*, who wrote his chronicle (of which (*a*) we have already given an account) towards the end of the reign of king *Robert* III, or during the captivity of king *James* I. This author, tho' he believed according to the tradition received long before his time, that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Britain* before the incar-

(*a*) Supra, p. 622.

nation

nation, and writing about one hundred years after the opinion (firſt vented during our debates with king *Edward* I. about the independency) of the *Scots* having had ancient kings in *Britain*, even before the incarnation, had, by length of time, and as being honourable to the nation, ſpread itſelf and gained credit among the generality; tho' *Winton*, I ſay, writing in that juncture, was much inclined to believe the *Scots* had kings before the incarnation; 1°. yet not only when he ſets down (*a*) the old genealogy of the *Scotiſh* kings, from *Simon-Breac* downwards, he reckons, among the reſt of the names of the anceſtors of our kings, that of *Fergus* ſon to *Ferchar* or *Feraret* in the genealogical line, without taking any the leaſt particular notice of him, as he doth of the famous men among them; ſuch as *Simon-Breac*, and *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, and without the leaſt inſinuation of this *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchar*, his ever having been the firſt king or a king of the *Scots* at all, no more than any of the reſt. But 2°. when he comes down with the genealogical line to *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, he (*b*) calls him expreſly the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and looked upon that as ſo conſtant and certain an hiſtorical truth, that he repeats it no leſs than three times, in three or four different places of his chronicle.

(*a*) *Winton's Chronicle* in Biblioth. Cotton. Nero D. M lib. 3. fol. 30.

(*b*) Winton ibid. lib. 3. fol. 30. lib. 4. fol 37, 38, 43.

WHAT

WHAT is remarkable, and ſhews how much it was fixed in the minds of the *Scots* as yet in *Winton*'s time, that *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* was the firſt king, is, that *Winton* himſelf overſwayed by the prevailing new opinion of the *Scots* having had kings three or four hundred years before the birth of Chriſt, or rather before the *Picts*, who he ſuppoſeth began to reign two hundred years before the incarnation, on the one hand; and on the other hand, being aſſured that the firſt king of the *Scots* was *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, and that there were but ten generations (a) betwixt this *Fergus* and *Kenneth Mac Alpin*, who lived above eight hundred years after the birth of *Chriſt*; after a fruitleſs effort in two places in his chronicle to reconcile this contradiction; at laſt finding it impoſſible to make ten or eleven generations in thoſe times fill up twelve hundred years, he chooſes rather to bring down the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy to more modern times, and to grant that the *Picts* were already ſettled, and their monarchy ſubſiſting in *Britain* when the *Scots* came into it, than to doubt of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, his being their firſt king. This ſhews how certain this was as yet even in *Winton*'s time; and that he had never ſeen *Fordun*'s chronicle; otherwiſe he could not have failed to mention at leaſt the diſtinction of two

(a) Winton. lib. 3. fol. 7. lib 4. fol. 43. *Vide Appendix*, No. 1.

Fergus's

Fergus's I. and II. which, if it had been grounded, would have ſolved all his difficulties.

THUS *Winton*, in the firſt draughts or editions of his chronicles, ſuch as it is in all the MSS. of it that I have ſeen in *Scotland* or *England*, excepting one, the moſt valuable of all, which belongs to the king's library at *London*, whereof I have already (*a*) given an account, it contains the laſt review made by himſelf of his chronicle, with ſome conſiderable additions and corrections. In this not only he ſtill perſiſts to make *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* firſt king of the *Scots*, but what the ordinary copies of his chronicles do not contain, he informs us, no doubt from the records of St. *Andrew's*, to which he belong'd, and conformably to the accounts of all the above-mentioned writers that had been publiſhed till his time; that (*b*) Fergus *ſon of* Erch *firſt king of the* Scots, *reigned three years from* Drumalban *to* Inchgall; Douengart *his ſon five years, to whom ſucceeded his ſon* Congal, *&c.* and continues on a chronological ſeries of our kings, with their genealogy and years of their reigns, till *Eocha-rinneval* call'd by our moderns, after *Fordun*, *Eugen.* V.

AND now we have ſeen by the agreeing teſtimonies of all our ancient writers, without exception,

(*a*) Supra, pag. 624.
(*b*) Append. n. vii.

not

not only of thoſe who wrote before the year 1291, but of all of them that we have remaining before the publication of *Fordun*'s hiſtory, under the reign of king *James* II, that *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* was ſtill believed to have been the firſt king of the *Scots*, and that, till the hiſtory of *Fordun* was publiſh'd, we have not one word, in any writer extant, of *Fergus* the ſon of *Ferchard* his being the firſt king, or a king at all of the *Scots*, nor in the old genealogy of our kings any particular notice taken of his name, except by *Fordun*, no more than of ſo many other names in that genealogy.

IT is farther worth obſerving, that the tradition of the *Scotiſh* monarchy's beginning by one *Erc*, or the ſon of *Erc*, was ſo rooted in the minds of the *Scots*, that even in their inſtructions to their commiſſioners at *Rome* (*A. D* 1300) during the debate with king *Edward* before the *Pope* (where we find the firſt notions of kings of *Scots* before the incarnation) they viſibly point at one *Erc* as the founder of their monarchy. 1°. By deriving from *Erc* and *Gatheyl* the name of their firſt ſettlement in *Britain*; and 2°. by their naming no other king of *Scots* but *Erc*, whom they bring in both the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, in the higheſt antiquity, and again as a king of the *Scots* about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth age, where our moderns place the

reſtoration of monarchy. And thus far as to the authorities of *Scotiſh* writers before *Fordun*, who all agree that *Fergus* ſon of *Erc* was the firſt king of *Scots*.

IT would have perhaps appeared invidious, to have brought the teſtimonies of *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* writers to prove this delicate point; for which reaſon alſo I have not alledged the teſtimony, ſo clear for this purpoſe, contained in the deſcription (*a*) of *Albany*, and quoted by *Camden* and others, becauſe I ſuppoſe *Giraldus Cambrenſis* was author of that deſcription; and therefore, having ſufficient proofs from the *Scotiſh* ancient writers, I have deſignedly abſtained from quoting the others, and ſhall refer my reader, if he deſires farther information and other proofs, to archbiſhop *Uſher*'s *Antiquitates Britanniæ* (*a*), *Flaherty*'s *Ogygia* (*c*), &c. and others of leſſer note among the *Iriſh*, and of the *Engliſh* to *Camden*'s *Scotia*, to the hiſtory of church-government of *Britain*, &c. by Dr. *Loyd* biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s antiquities of *Britiſh* churches; in all which they will find this argument treated moſt part from teſtimonies drawn from *Iriſh* writers, which, tho' I have not made uſe of in examining this queſtion, yet I am perſwaded they may be very ſerviceable to the *Scotiſh* hiſtory.

(*a*) Appendix, num. 1.
(*b*) Uſher. Antiq. Brit. p. 319, 320. &c.
(*c*) Ogygia, p. 465. &c.

But

BUT in order to that, it ought to be obſerved, 1°. that a great difference is to be made betwixt the hiſtories or annals of *Ireland*, containing accounts of tranſactions paſſed ſince king *Leogaire* and St. *Patrick*'s time, and thoſe pretended old hiſtories of the *Iriſh*, which, they gave out, were written by their ſeanachies before the times of chriſtianity, or even before they received the goſpel with the uſe of letters. As to theſe laſt, we have endeavoured to ſhew elſewhere (*a*) at length, that theſe pretended ancient hiſtories being built upon the dubious foundation of the *Bards* traditions, there's no weight to be laid upon them: whereas the firſt, that is, their hiſtorical accounts written ſince they received chriſtianity, deſerves much more credit.

2°. A GREAT difference ought alſo to be made among the *Iriſh* writers, even ſince they had the uſe of letters, betwixt thoſe of their hiſtories or annals that contain the accounts of the ſucceſſion of kings, biſhops and other ſuch publick tranſactions within or without that kingdom; ſuch as *Tigernac*'s annals, the *Ulſter* annals, the *Synchroniſm*'s of *Flann*, where they relate matters that happen'd ſince king *Leogair*'s time on the one hand, and on the other, the uncertain rapſodies of genealogies, ſome of the legends of ſaints, written

(*a*) Supra, Book II. Sect. 1. chap. 1. *per totum.*

by

by anonymous obſcure, or credulous authors, eſpecially in the *Iriſh* tongue. I do not ſee why the firſt, to wit, their more received hiſtories and annals, when fairly publiſh'd, accompanied with good proofs of the authentickneſs of their originals, and an account where they are preſerved; I do not ſee, I ſay, why theſe ought not to be allowed the ſame authority as writers of other nations, according to the degree of good ſenſe, or fidelity of the authors, and the neameſs of their time to the tranſactions they relate.

3°. It hath been already (*a*) obſerved, that the *Iriſh* intereſt, for a proof of their own pretended remote antiquities, would have inclined them, if they had found it well grounded, rather to have raiſed to a greater height the antiquity of the *Scotiſh* ſettlement in *Britain*, than to have abridged it, eſpecially ſince the *Scots* claimed only an antiquity of about one thouſand years of later date, than what the *Iriſh* pretend to.

BESIDES that in the former times, when the beſt monuments of the *Iriſh* hiſtory were penned, we find a conſtant amicable concord and intercourſe of friendly correſpondence and amity betwixt the *Scots* of *Britain* and the *Iriſh*, both in eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, which as we ſee by

(*a*) Supra, p. 182. 183.

(*a*) acts

(*a*) acts of our parliament, *A. D.* 1427. in king *James* I's time, was ſtill entertain'd betwixt theſe two nations, and none of theſe jealouſies and animoſities which have chiefly begun within theſe two laſt ages, eſpecially among the *Scots* and *Iriſh* abroad; and ſince many of both nations were forced to go into foreign countries on the alteration of religion at home; and at ſooneſt, ſince the *Iriſh* became ſubjects to the kings of *England* in the twelfth age. Till theſe jealouſies aroſe, I do not ſee why the *Iriſh* writers of the eleventh age and upwards, might not have fairly related ſuch publick tranſactions of the *Scots* in *Britain* as their common origin, language and uſages could not but make them take intereſt in, and their frequent intercourſe made them acquainted with. Thus I cannot but think the teſtimonies brought by *Uſher* (*b*) from the annals of *Tigernach*, of *Ulſter*, and the *Synchroniſms*, *&c.* of uſe towards the ſettling the beginning of the reign of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, and fixing it to the year 503, eſpecially ſince all the moſt ancient accounts of the *Scots* agree to bring down his reign till about the beginning of the ſixth age.

And in general, tho' it cannot be expected that the *Iriſh* writers will be as exact, or can be as much depended upon as the *Scots* themſelves, in

(*a*) Black Acts. cap. 71. fol. 11.

(*b*) Uſher. Britan. Eccleſ. Antiq. p. 320.

matters

matters relating to *Albany*, when equally ancient, and near the times of the tranſactions; yet I cannot but here renew again my earneſt wiſhes, that thoſe of the *Iriſh* writers who treat of tranſactions in *Albany*, ſuch as *Tigernach*, the *Synchroniſms*, the *Ulſter* annals, and ſuch like, were faithfully publiſhed in a fair and literal tranſlation; if they cannot be printed (as the *Engliſh* have done their *Saxon* monuments of hiſtory) in the original language, with a literal tranſlation joined to them. And I doubt not but the hiſtory of the *Scots* would receive light by their ſo doing, as the *Iriſh* would gain credit to their own hiſtory, and honour to the authors of ſuch a laudable undertaking: and it was particularly for this reaſon that I inſiſted ſo much on this ſubject, in the former diſſertation.

ART. III. *Of the time of the beginning of the reign of* Fergus *ſon of* Erc, *and proper* Epoch *of the monarchy of the* Scots *in* Britain.

FORDUN hath placed the beginning of this *Fergus*'s reign, and of the reſtoration, as he calls it, of the *Scotiſh* kingdom in *Britain* in the year 403. Our other hiſtorians, ever ſince, have generally followed him in that date: only *Boece*, and ſome of his followers, in order to give this *Fergus* time to accompany *Alaric* at the ſacking of *Rome* in 409, hath placed this reſtoration ſome few years later.

BUT this *Epoch* of *Fergus*'s reign ſettled on bare conjecture, as we ſhall ſhew elſewhere, is contradicted both by the account that *Fordun* himſelf, as well as all our ancient and modern writers, give of the genealogy of our kings, and by all the monuments remaining of our ancient annals before *A. D.* 1291. All which ſuppoſe or prove plainly, that the beginning of the reign of *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, was about one hundred years later than *Fordun* hath placed it.

ACCORDING to the genealogy of our kings, received by *Fordun* and all our other writers, there are but two generations or perſons betwixt this *Fergus* and king *Aydan*, his great grandchild; to wit, *Dongard*, who was ſon to *Fergus*; and *Gauran*, who was ſon to *Dongard*, and father to king *Aydan*. Now, according to *Fordun*'s account, *Fergus* began his reign *A. D.* 403, and died *A. D.* 419; and king *Aydan*, his great grandchild, died *A. D.* 605: ſo there would be only three generations to take up near two centuries, *viz.* one hundred and ſixty-eight years from the death of king *Fergus*, to that of king *Aydan*; which, in the firſt place, would be againſt the common received rule of counting three generations to one hundred years, or of allowing thirty years to each generation: in the ſecond place, it would be abſolutely contrary to the experience of all that hath ever happened in *Scotland* ſince, where there have always been

Genealogical and Chronological Series of the Kings of SCOTS, from *Fergus* Son of *Erc*, to *Aydan* Son of *Gavran*.

COL. I.

According to more ancient MS. *Chronicles or Catalogues.*

Began to Reign.	*Order of* SUCCESSION.	*Reigned Years.*	*Died.*	*Series of Generations.*	
*A.D.*503	1 Fergus, *Son of* Erc	3	*A.D.* 506	Fergus	
506	2 Dongard, *Son of* Fergus	5	511	Dongard	1
511	3 Congal, *Son of* Dongard	24	535		
535	4 Gabhran, *Son of* Dongard	22	557	Gabhran	2
557	5 Conal, *Son of* Congal	14	571		
571	6 Aydan, *Son of* Gabhran	34	605	Aydan	3

COL. II.

According to John Fordun, *and his Followers.*

Began to Reign.	*Order of* SUCCESSION.	*Reigned Years.*	*Died.*	*Series of Generations.*	
*A.D.*403	1 Fergus, *Son of* Erch	16	*A.D.* 419	Fergus	
419	2 Eugenius, *Son of* Fergus	34	452		
452	3 Dongard, *Son of* Fergus	5	457	Dongard	1
457	4 Conſtantin, *Son of* Fergus	22	479		
479	5 Congal, *Son of* Dongard	22	501		
501	6 Gonran, *Son of* Dongard	34	535	Gonran	2
535	7 Ethod, *Son of* Congal	23	558		
558	8 Conal, *Son of* Congal	10	567		
567	9 Kynatel, *Son of* Congal	1 3 mths	569		
569	10 Aydan, *Son of* Gonran	35	605	Aydan	3

in the genealogy of our kings, at leaſt ſix generations for every two centuries. And from the death of king *Aydan*, A. D. 605, till that of the late king *James* VII. *A. D.* 1701, there are thirty-ſix generations, and only one thouſand ninety-ſix years, or about eleven centuries, which is more than three generations for every century: which ſhews, that there can be no more than one hundred years allowed for the three generations of *Dongard*, *Conran*, and of *Aydan*; and by conſequence, that according to the genealogy owned by all, as well as the fixed *Epoch* of king *Aydan*'s death, *A. D.* 605, and conformable to the experience of all ſucceeding ages, the beginning of the reign of king *Fergus* II. can be placed no higher than the beginning of the ſixth century, or about the year 500 of Chriſt. But all this will better appear by the genealogical table here inſerted (*a*).

It would ſeem that *Fordun*, or thoſe who furniſhed him with memoirs, had been aware of this difficulty; and therefore, to obviate it, or rather to hinder it from being taken notice of, care is taken to intermix, with the real kings, in the interval betwixt *Fergus* and *Aydan*, the names of three ſupernumerary kings, beſides one *Kinatill*, viz. *Eugenius*, *Conſtantin*, and *Ethodius*, (of all whom there is not the leaſt mention in the more ancient chronicles or catalogues of our kings) and to each of them are given long reigns, to help

(*a*) Vide Genealogical Table.

to ſpin out the two centuries; for which reaſon there are alſo ſeveral years added to the reigns of ſome of the real kings: but this cobweb device is eaſily diſſipated, and can be of no uſe to the purpoſe, as long as the old genealogy (which could not be ſo eaſily altered) remains ſtill the ſame, even in *Fordun*'s account, and in that of all our writers, and king *Aydan*, but in the third degree from king *Fergus*, the intermixing theſe new kings with the additional number of years of the reigns (which ſerves only for a blind, that is eaſily ſeen through) will in no manner mend the matter, and ſtill the ſame difficulty remains, of making three generations fill up two centuries, which in all ſucceeding ages have required at leaſt double that number of generations, as it were eaſy to prove it by induction, or examples of every two ages or centuries ſince king *Aydan*'s, till the preſent times.

To render this yet more evident, there needs only to lay aſide the ſeventy-nine years of reign which *Fordun*, or thoſe that helped him with memoirs, thought fit to aſſign to the three ſupernumerary kings, (*Eugenius*, *Conſtantin*, and *Ethodius*) and cut off the twenty-four years, which they have added to lengthen the reigns of *Fergus* and *Gaaran* beyond what the ancient catalogues give them. Theſe two numbers of years (ſeventy-nine and twenty-four) put together, make up above one hundred years: now retrenching them, and reckoning

koning back from king *Aydan*'s death, *A. D.* 605, (which is a fixed *Epoch* on which all parties, *Fordun*, as well as others, agree) there will not remain one full century from the death of king *Aydan*, A. D. 605, till the beginning of *Fergus*'s reign, which therefore muſt neceſſarily be placed after the year 500, or the beginning of the ſixth century, and about one hundred years after the year 403, to which *Fordun* had fixed it.

IT is no leſs evident, by all the ancient abſtracts of our chronicles, written before the year 1291, that king *Fergus*'s reign can be placed no higher than about the year 500; for according to the three ancient catalogues of our kings, to wit, that of the *Chronica Regum Scottorum*, that of the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s, that of the chronicle in *Latin* verſe, and thoſe of *Winton* and *Gray*, counting all the years of the king's reigns, from the death of king *Aydan*, A. D. 605, up to the beginning of king *Fergus*'s reign, it will be found, according to theſe chronicles or catalogues, that the firſt of king *Fergus* amounts no higher than to the year 503: for theſe catalogues or chronicles, (allowing a few faults in the numbers, ordinary to copyiſts) bear unananimouſly that, 1°. *Fergus*, ſon of *Erc*, reigned three years; 2°. *Dongard*, ſon of *Fergus*, five years; 3°. *Congal*, ſon of *Dongard*, twenty-four years; 4°. *Gauran*, ſon of *Dongard*, twenty-two years; 5°. *Conal*, ſon of *Congal*, fourteen years; 6°. *Aydan*, ſon of *Gauran*, thirty-four

years, and died *A. D.* 605. Now, counting up the years of the reigns of theſe ſix kings, they amount to one hundred and two years, which being deduced from ſix hundred and five, the fixed *Epoch* of the death of king *Aydan*, there remains juſt five hundred and three, as another fixed *Epoch* of the beginning of the reign of king *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*; and by conſequence of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*: and this juſt anſwers the calculation of the *Iriſh* (*a*) chronicles, whoſe conformity in this, to the moſt ancient monuments that we have, mutually confirms one another.

(*a*) Uſſer. Britan. Eccleſ. Antiq. p. 320.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

Of the different ſteps and degrees by which the high antiquities of the Scots *grew up by length of time, in the ſeveral hands through which they paſſed, into the plan of hiſtory, in which they were afterwards delivered by the modern writers of both nations.*

HAVING examined, in the firſt and ſecond diſſertation of this ſecond ſection, the grounds of the remote antiquities of the *Scots*, both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and endeavoured to fix the true *Epoch* of their coming in, and of their firſt ſettlement in both theſe kingdoms; to finiſh the matter, it remains to anſwer a vulgar objection which may occur againſt all I have ſaid; the clearing of which will, I hope, give me occaſion, far from abating any thing of what I have advanced, to add on the contrary a new confirmation to it, and ſet the whole in a better light.

IT may be objected then againſt what I have ſaid, that if the remote antiquities of *Ireland* and *Scotland* had been ſo groundleſs in their origin, and the *Epoch* of the firſt ſettlement, and begin-

ning of monarchy of the *Scots* in theſe countries, not more ancient than I pretend, it ſeems not poſſible that the ſtory of the antiquities of both countries, and of the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots*, could ever have grown up into ſuch a detail of facts, ſo apparently regular a ſucceſſion of kings, attended with genealogies, fixed dates, and the other outward appearances of authentick ancient hiſtory, nor be delivered with ſuch an air of aſſurance, as we ſee that of *Ireland* is by *O Flaherty*, and that of *Scotland* by *Boece* and *Buchanan*.

THO' this objection or difficulty be already in a great meaſure anſwered by all that we have ſaid at ſo much length of theſe remote antiquities, and ſhewn that they have no ſolid grounds, but rather the characters of invention, and of being the work of poſterior times; yet to put the whole in greater evidence, I conceive it would not be amiſs to endeavour to trace down, as far as the ſubject will bear, the ſeveral ſteps by which the remote antiquities of both nations have grown up, by degrees and length of time, from the firſt invention of them, into the detail of circumſtantiated facts and form of hiſtory, in which their modern writers preſent them.

BUT as to the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, having in the former diſſertation entered, I am afraid, into too great a detail of them for a ſtranger, though with no other view than to en-

deavour to ſet in a due light the firſt foundations of the remote antiquities of my own country, I ſhall enquire no farther into thoſe of *Ireland*, but leave that to the learned, impartial and judicious writers of that kingdom, who, by a perfect knowledge of their ancient language, and by the acceſs they may have to all that remains of the more ancient and valuable of their hiſtorical monuments, are alone equal to ſuch a task. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to examine here the progreſs of theſe remote antiquities among the *Scots* in *Britain*; which, as it will give me an opportunity to diſcuſs ſome things more fully than I could do in the former part of this diſſertation, ſo I hope that what I am to add here, will remove ſome popular objections, and ſerve for a new confirmation to the whole.

To put this ſubject in a clear light, it may be uſeful to begin, by laying before the reader the double ſcheme of the hiſtory of the *Scots* before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*: 1°. Such as it was in reality, as I have endeavoured to prove, from what remains we have of our ancient writers. 2°. Such as *Boece* and *Buchanan* have publiſhed it, which is what I call the remote or high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

The firſt ſcheme may be reduced to theſe four heads; 1°. That the *Scots* were not ſettled even in *Ireland* till about, or after the times of the incarnation (*a*).

carnation (*a*) 2°. That the *Scots* were not ſettled in *Britain* till about the third age of chriſtianity (*b*). 3°. That the *Scots* in *Britain* had no ſoveraign kings of their own nation before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* (*c*); and that the reign of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, and by conſequence the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Britain*, is to be placed no higher than about the end of the fifth, or beginning of the ſixth century (*d*).

THE ſecond, and oppoſite ſcheme, or that of the *Scotiſh* high antiquities, may be reduced to the following heads; 1°. The *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Ireland* began by *Simon Breac*, about ſix hundred years before the incarnation. 2°. The *Scots* came to *Britain* about four hundred years before the incarnation. 3°. The *Scots* in *Britain* had kings before the incarnation, and their monarchy began three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Chriſt. 4°. *Fergus* the ſon of *Feredac* or *Fercart*, was the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and had about thirty-eight kings his ſucceſſors, who reigned during about ſeven hundred years in the north of *Britain*, till the overthrow of the *Scotiſh* monarchy about the end of the fourth century; of each of which kings reigns our modern hiſtorians give a circumſtantial chronological account.

(*a*) Vide Diſſert. I. p. 401, &c. and p. 506, &c.
(*b*) Supra, p. 638, &c.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 676.
(*d*) Ibid. p. 689.

5°. *Fergus*

5°. *Fergus* the ſon of *Erch*, called *Fergus* II. reſtored the *Scotiſh* monarchy, and began his reign about the beginning of the fifth century, *A. D.* 403.

To come then to the purpoſe, and deſcribe the ſeveral additions and alterations that were made in different ages, by different hands and occaſions, in the firſt ſimple ſcheme of the *Scotiſh* antiquities before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, till they grew up into that high fabrick whereof *Fordun* laid the plan, which *Boëce* finiſhed, and *Buchanan* adorned; I muſt, in the firſt place, do that juſtice to my countrymen to acknowledge, that, except in the laſt additions, whereof the firſt authors, I mean of the books under the name of *Veremund*, &c. were, no doubt, guilty of forgery (as I have ſhewn (*a*) elſewhere.) All the reſt of the additions or alterations were made rather out of ignorance of ancient hiſtory, and too great credulity, from the motive of raiſing the honour and prerogatives of their country beyond others; and rather upon conjectures and grounds that ſeemed at leaſt probable enough, in the ſeveral occaſions and circumſtances that gave riſe to them, than upon any formed deſign to alter the truth, or to invent: and if we conſider, with more attention, the ſeveral degrees of growth of theſe high antiquities, in the hands of our writers of different ages, we will find that

(*a*) Supra, p. 234, &c.

each

each new addition to the firſt invention of them (which was wholly due to the bards) was in ſome manner but a conſequence of the former; each new one leaving as it were behind it a demand of a new ſupplement, till the fabrick of theſe high antiquities was completed, by degrees, in the order, and with the dimenſions in which our modern hiſtorians preſent it.

§. 1. *Firſt ſtep or foundation of the high antiquities of the* Scots *in* Britain: *the opinion of the* Scots *having been ſettled in* Ireland *ſeveral ages before the incarnation.*

THIS firſt ſtep, or the firſt invention, is wholly due to the bards in *Ireland*: the *Scots* being ſettled there about, or after the times of the incarnation, and becoming the leading men in that iſland, and being by degrees cemented into one body of people with the ancient inhabitants, the time of their firſt coming in, wore out of the memory of men in ſome ages, (and a few ages ſufficed, for that in a country where as yet there was no uſe of letters, nor written records) it is like, that the bards, to flatter the *Scots* in *Ireland*, as the governing party, and gain their favour and rewards, began to ſet them out in their rythms as very ancient inhabitants of the iſland, come into it time out of mind: and having afterwards, as we have obſerved, eſpecially after they had ſome knowledge of the ſcripture, gotten ſome hints of long genealogies, they

they drew up genealogies for the leading men of the *Scots*, and led them up firſt to the ſuppoſed firſt heroes and founders of the *Iriſh*, and from thence up to *Noah* and *Adam*. Having alſo gotten ſome notion of chronology, they ſeem to have at firſt fixed the time of the coming in of the *Scots* to about ſix or ſeven hundred years before the incarnation, as we have elſewhere ſhewn; and the *Scots* in *Britain*, having received theſe firſt draughts of the genealogy and chronology from the *Iriſh*, have preſerved them much in the ſame ſtate in which they were at firſt broached, having no national concern, as the *Iriſh* had, to alter *(a)* them, in order to make their ſettlement in *Ireland*, and their monarchy remount to a higher antiquity.

§. 4. *The ſettlement of the* Scots *in* Britain *placed before the incarnation, but no kings till* Fergus *ſon of* Erch.

THE ſtory of the *Scots* ſettlement in *Ireland* ſix or ſeven hundred years before the incarnation being generally received, it was the more eaſy to think that their firſt ſettlement in *Britain* was alſo very ancient: that the *Scots* coming in at firſt to *Britain* by degrees, inſenſibly, and in ſmall numbers, and not in bodies of men, the memory of the time of the coming in of the firſt of them

(a) Supra, p. 479, &c.

might

might in ſome ages be quite worn out. And they being originally the ſame people with the *Scots* in *Ireland*, and the ancient ſettlement of theſe laſt in *Ireland* being generally received, it was the more likely that the ſettlement of thoſe in *Britain* muſt have been ancient alſo; that the paſſage from *Ireland* firſt to the weſtern iſlands, or to *Kintyre*, *Lorn*, *Argyle*, and other weſtern coaſts of *Britain*, the firſt poſſeſſion of the *Scots* in this iſland, was more ſhort and eaſy.

Now the firſt *Scots* being come into *Britain*, as we ſuppoſe, in the third (*a*) age of chriſtianity, though they made no figure there till the fourth; their deſcendents in the ſeventh or eighth age, after ten or twelve generations, ignorant of the preciſe time of their coming in, and knowing only that they were ſettled in *Britain* time out of mind, would naturally be inclined rather to augment, than diminiſh their antiquity in the ſeats which they then enjoyed (ancient poſſeſſion being an honourable title) when the queſtion was about the time of their ſettlement. Wherefore we muſt not wonder, that *Bede*, who had his informations from ſome *Scotiſh* monks in the eighth age, when he wrote his hiſtory, ſeems to have believed, on their credit, that the (*b*) *Scots* were ſettled before the times of the incarnation, not only in *Ireland*, but even in

(*a*) Supra, p. 638, &c.
(*b*) Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

Britain

Britain: and for the ſame reaſon (*a*) *Nennius* alſo, a *Britiſh* writer of the ninth age, ſeems to place the coming in of the *Scots* to *Dalried* (the ancient name of their poſſeſſions in *Britain*) about five hundred years before the incarnation, that is, about an age or two after their firſt coming to *Ireland*, according to the *Iriſh* tradition, not as yet altered in his time.

THIS opinion of the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, being once received among them, was too honourable to be abandoned, and much more likely to be improved, than examined in ſuch ages, as the ninth, tenth and eleventh: and accordingly we find, that in the twelfth and thirteenth following ages, it was not only held among the *Scots* as certain, but the time of the *Scots* firſt coming into *Britain* condeſcended upon, to have been about the year four hundred and forty-three before the incarnation, according to the *Latin* (*b*) chronicle in verſe, in the following paſſage.

Bis bis centeno quater endeca, ſed minus uno
Anno, quo ſumpſit primos Ergadia Scotos
Ut referunt iſti fuit incarnatio Chriſti, &c.

And here I cannot but take notice of a miſtake (I ſhall give it no other name, out of reſpect to ſo truly learned a perſon) that *Uſſher* (*c*), and others,

(*a*) Nennius, c. 9.
(*b*) Append. n. 6. c. 6.
(*c*) Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 312.

copying

copying after him, to bring down as low as they can the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, have fallen into, in applying the number of four hundred and fourty-three years, contained in theſe verſes to the times poſteriour to the incarnation: whereas by a little attention to what goes before, and what follows after, theſe verſes in this ſhort chronicle, it would have clearly appeared, that the author's meaning was, that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Britain* four hundred and forty-three years before the incarnation. I ſay, four hundred and forty-three years, and not four hundred and thirty-nine. For in all the beſt copies of this chronicle, ſuch as that in the *Scotichronicon*, or *black book of Paſly* in the king's library at *London*, in the *Scotichronicons* of the college of *Edinburgh*, in that of *Panmure*, and in that of the *Scotiſh* college of *Paris* there is, *Bis bis centeno quater* (endeca) *ſed minus uno, &c.* and not *quater & deca, &c.* as it ſeems *Uſher's* copy had it. This is farther confirmed, by the following more ancient *Scotiſh* writers, ſuch as *Winton* and *Gray*, who both of them copied from the records of St. *Andrew's*, and both place the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, about four hundred and forty-three years before the incarnation.

But tho' the author of this chronicle and other writers about this time, were perſuaded of this ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*; yet not only this author hath not a word of any kings

of

of the *Scots* before *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*; but on the contrary, he tells us plainly, that the *Scots* lived long in *Britain* before they had kings, and both he and all the remains of our ancient hiſtories, and all our other writers of the thirteenth age down to our debates about the independency of *Scotland* with *Edward* I. before *Pope Boniface* VIII. are poſitive, that the *Scots* had at leaſt no ſoveraign kings of their own nation in *Britain*, before king *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, and all of them place him the firſt monarch of the *Scots* in *Britain*, as we (*a*) have ſhewn elſewhere.

§. 3. *Firſt riſe or origin of the opinion of ancient kings of the* Scots *in* Britain, *before the incarnation: but nothing yet determined as to their number or names.*

We have given ſome account in another place (*b*), upon what occaſion the opinion of ancient *Scotiſh* kings in *Britain*, was at firſt ſtarted at the debates with king *Edward* I. before the *Pope* about our independencies, contained in the two records ſet down at length by the beſt continuators of *Fordun*; whereof the one is the memorial (*c*) ſent by the ſtates of *Scotland* to their three deputies at the court of *Rome*; the other is the (*d*) memorial or

(*a*) Supra, p. 676.
(*b*) Supra, p. 1621.
(*c*) Fordun. edit. Tho. Hearne, p. 1835.
(*d*) Ibid. p. 1883.

proceſs of *Baldred Biſſet*, the chief of theſe deputies: both given in to the pope, *A. D.* 1301. we have given a full account of them in the place above-mentioned.

In theſe debates, as hath been obſerved, our deputies, like skilful and zealous advocates in a cauſe of the higheſt importance to their country, made uſe of all ſort of arguments to defend it. They proved our independency by what could be found in the country of ancient records. They endeavoured to raiſe in the eyes of the *Pope*, and court of *Rome*, a high opinion of the *Scotiſh* nation, and of its prerogatives above the *Engliſh*, by the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*; which in thoſe days they made no doubt of, having then for ſeveral ages been generally received by them; from their having received chriſtianity long before the *Engliſh* or *Saxons*; from their having ſtill preſerved their freedom, and kept poſſeſſion of the ſame territories in the north of *Britain* for ſo many ages, notwithſtanding their being attacked by ſo many enemies; whilſt the ſouth of *Britain* or *England* had ſo often loſt its freedom, and been ſo frequently ſubjected to new maſters, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normands*.

But king *Edward* I, in his letter to the pope, having brought his ſucceſſion and pretended ſuperiority over *Scotland*, down from *Brutus*, *Locrinus*, and the ancient *Britiſh* kings, which, however fabulous

fabulous, paſs'd current in thoſe days; the *Scots* would not be behind-hand with him in that neither; and therefore having, as they believed, probable grounds to go upon, the advocates of the *Scots* advance before the pope, that the *Scots* had alſo a ſucceſſion of ancient kings from before the incarnation. This is indeed the firſt time we hear of it, but the *Scotiſh* deputies advanced it with the greater confidence that, beſides the preſſing occaſion they had for it, in that juncture, not to have the *Scots* thought any ways inferior to the *Engliſh*, in ſo honourable a prerogative as that of an ancient monarchy; beſides this, the thing in it ſelf ſeemed probable enough in thoſe days.

FOR to ſay nothing here of our kings being deſcended time out of mind from the *Pictiſh* kings in whoſe right they had ſucceeded; it was now ſome ages ſince the opinion of the *Scots*, their having been ſeated four or five hundred years in *Britain* before the incarnation, and ſo about nine hundred years before the reign of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, was generally receiv'd, as (*a*) we have ſhewn among the *Scots*: Now that the *Scots*, a people almoſt always in war with their neighbours, could be in *Britain* about eight or nine hundred years, a headleſs people, and without a king, was a thing that ſeemed no ways probable, or rather almoſt intirely incredible.

(*a*) Supra, p. 713.

BESIDES, that this memorial of the *Scots* was drawn up in great haſte (*cum feſtinatione*) in *Scotland*, ſo that they had not leiſure to examine things maturely, or to conſult thoſe that were moſt verſed in the antiquities of the nation, but were obliged to ſet down ſuch notions of them, as their memory or popular traditions could furniſh them, or rather their ſecretaries, and at the ſame time, to give them the moſt favourable turn for the ſupport of their cauſe that they could think of. And upon the whole, conſidering the ignorance the *Scots* were in (ſince the deſtruction, or carrying off the ancient documents of their hiſtory) the perſuaſion they were in, of their ancient ſettlement in *Britain*; and the little probability there was, that they could have been ſo many ages in *Britain* without kings; I can ſcarce doubt but their deputies, and thoſe that drew up their memorials, had perſwaded themſelves, that the *Scots* had a ſucceſſion of kings from their firſt ſettlement. And this came afterwards to be a common opinion among them, but without condeſcending as yet upon their names, not even upon that of the firſt king or founder, till *Fordun*'s chronicle was publiſhed and univerſally received in the fifteenth century.

BUT as to *Baldred Bizet*, one of the deputies, his telling the *Pope* in his memorial (*a*), that the *Scots* had thirty-ſix catholick or chriſtian kings be-

(*a*) Fordun. Edit. Hearne, p. 887.

ſore the *Engliſh* were converted to chriſtianity, this, I own, is a ſtretch I cannot fathom, or gueſs at the grounds on which he went, except that it ſhews, that he knew nothing yet certain in particular, about the beginning of the monarchy or chriſtianity among the *Scots*: for at that rate the *Scots* would have had chriſtian kings before the times of chriſtianity: ſince even in *Boece*'s account, *Metellan*, whom he places about the time of the incarnation, was but the thirty-ſecond king upwards from king *Aydan*, in whoſe time the goſpel was preached to the *Saxons* or *Engliſh*.

YET there is another *Scotiſh* writer in theſe dark times, mentioned by the continuators of *Fordun* (*a*) that ſurpaſſeth in the antiquity of the *Scotiſh* monarchy, even *Baldred*'s memorial: for he tells us, that the *Scots* had twenty-three kings before the *Picts* came into *Britain*, which, according to this writer's accounts, happened above two hundred years before the incarnation. So that according to him, the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy would be placed about ſix or ſeven hundred years before the incarnation; ſince twenty three of our kings reigns in no age, or writer, take up leſs than betwixt four and five hundred years.

BUT 'tis eaſy to obſerve from theſe high flights and incredible accounts, that when the firſt men-

(*a*) Scotichron. l. 4. c. 10.

tion of theſe ancient kings, before *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, began (that is, at the end of the thirteenth or about the beginning of the fourteenth age), there was nothing yet fix'd or agreed on about them; and thoſe incredible accounts given by thoſe who firſt mention them, inſinuate plainly enough, that the opinion was as yet new and undigeſted; advanced only at a venture, in a neceſſary juncture to ſerve a turn. It required time to make it ripen, and the labours of poſterior writers to digeſt it, to fix the date of the monarchy, the number of kings, their names; at leaſt that of the firſt and founder. All this was the work of time: but the fabrick was now begun; we ſhall ſee there wanted not hands, as occaſion offered, to finiſh it piece-meal.

§. 4. *The number of thoſe ancient kings firſt mentioned, but no account as yet of their names, nor even that of the firſt king or founder of the monarchy, nor the time of the beginning of the monarchy as yet fixed.*

THE next ſtep then of the growth of our remote antiquities was the fixing the number of theſe ancient kings. This we have for the firſt time advanced tranſiently, rather than determined (for poſterior writers ſtuck not by it) about twenty years after the firſt mention of them: we have it, I ſay, in the famous letter of our *Scotiſh* nobility, under king *Robert* the *Bruce*, to *Pope John* XXII. *A. D.* 1320. There they tell the

pope

poſe, that king *Robert* was the hundred and thirteenth king of the *Scots*. Now he being in reality but our fifty-third king from *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, and even in *Fordun*'s, and the vulgar account, but the fifty-ſeventh from this *Fergus*, they muſt have counted fifty-ſix kings before this *Fergus* II. and that is about ſixteen kings more than *Boece*, *Buchanan* and our other modern writers ſuppoſe, who reckon only thirty-nine kings in all before this *Fergus*.

As for this number of one hundred and thirteen kings, it may be the nobility, or rather their ſecretary, reckon'd all at once, both the ancient kings of the *Picts*, and thoſe of the *Scots*, in the number of their preſent kings anceſtors, as they might very well do, ſince he was deſcended of them both, and was poſſeſs'd of both their rights. The *Pictiſh* kings, according to the beſt accounts of them given by the *Scots* (ſuch as that of the regiſter of St. *Andrew*'s) being ſixty in number; and thoſe in the *Scotiſh* line, from *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* till *Robert Bruce*, making, according to our moſt ancient chronologiſts, juſt the number of fifty-three. Both theſe together make exactly that of one hundred and thirteen kings according to this letter.

But if any will inſiſt rigorouſly upon the expreſſion of this letter of the nobility (*de ipſorum* (Scotorum) *regali proſapia, nullo alienigena interveniente*) and conclude from thence, that all theſe

kings muſt have been of the *Scotiſh* race or line; I offer them another conjecture, for verifying the expreſſion of the letter, and finding out the hundred and thirteen kings.

SIMON BREAC was look'd upon by all the *Scots* for many ages before, as their leader from *Spain*; who brought the fatal ſtone along with him, and firſt founded a monarchy of the *Scotiſh* nation. Now the *Scots*, in their letter to the *Pope*, take not the leaſt notice of the *Scots* coming from *Spain* firſt to *Ireland*, and thence to the north-weſt of *Britain*; but ſuppoſe that the *Scots* came ſtraight from *Spain* to *Britain*, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of theſe territories in the weſt of *Britain*, where they firſt ſettled, and which they ſtill enjoy'd with the acceſſion of the *Pictiſh* dominions.

Now tho' the *Scotiſh* nobility, or their ſecretary, do not expreſsly name *Simon Breac* in this letter, yet he being reputed in theſe times their leader from *Spain*, and firſt monarch of the *Scots*, 'tis like the ſecretary may have look'd upon the fifty-four or fifty-five deſcents or names in the old genealogy, from *Simon* till *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, as ſo many kings deſcended of *Simon* the firſt *Scotiſh* king in theſe parts. And this, confounding the deſcents of the genealogy with the ſucceſſion or reigns of kings, ought not to ſeem extraordinary in thoſe times of ignorance, ſince the learned Dr *Stil-*

lingfleet

Lindsfleet (*a*) in our time, hath fallen into the ſame miſtake, in taking a genealogical line for a ſucceſſion of kings. Now the *Scots*, in their letter to the *Pope*, taking the fifty-five names, or deſcents, in the genealogical line from *Simon* till *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, for fifty-five kings, and thoſe added to the fifty-eight kings in the common account from *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* down till *Robert* the *Bruce*; both together make exactly the number of one hundred and thirteen kings, including king *Robert*. If theſe conjectures for the number of one hundred and thirteen kings, mentioned by the nobility, do not pleaſe: I leave to others to find out more likely grounds for it.

HOWEVER, neither in this letter, nor in any piece now extant of thoſe times, do we find the names of theſe kings, not ſo much as that of the firſt, or founder, different from *Simon Breac*; for as to *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, his being called the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Albany*, in the copy we have from *Fordun* and his continuators of the genealogy of our kings, in the end of king *David*'s life (*b*), and in that recited by the highlander, at the coronation of king *Alexander* III, it cannot be doubted of, but theſe words, *Fergus firſt king of the* Scots *in* Albany, meaning *Fergus* ſon of

(*a*) Stillingfl. Orig. Britan. Præf. pag. 10, &c.
(*b*) Fordun. edit. Hearne, lib. 5. c. 50. pag. 487. ibidem pag. 760.

Ferchard,

Ferchard, are not of theſe times, nor of the firſt hand, but are a bare interpolation of *Fordun*, or of his continuators, according to their cuſtom of adapting ancient hiſtorical pieces to the ſyſtems they had form'd to themſelves. For, in all the genuine copies of this genealogy before *Fordun*, ſuch as that of king *William*'s time, ſet down here in the appendix, *num.* 4. as well as in that of *Ralph de Diceto* dean of *London*, in the ſame age; and in *Winton*'s copy, who lived in *Fordun*'s time, and in that of Mr. *James Gray* who lived after *Fordun*, both which were taken from the ancient record of St. *Andrew*'s; in all theſe, I ſay, there's never a word of this *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard* his being firſt king of *Albany*, or a king at all, but his bare name is ranked with the reſt of the names of that genealogy, without the leaſt mark of diſtinction.

And neither in the memorials and proceſs of *Baldred*, and of the other *Scotiſh* deputies, given in by the *Scots*, *A. D.* 1301. or in the letter to the pope, *A. D.* 1320, where we have the firſt mention of the number of theſe ancient kings, is there the leaſt word of *Fergus* I. or of any one of theſe firſt kings by name: only the inſtructions of the ſtates of *Scotland*, *A. D.* 1301, mention over and again, one *Erch*, as the father of our kings. 1°. They bring him in as ſon to *Gatheyl* and *Scota*, as firſt of our (*a*) kings at the ſettlement of the *Scots*

(*a*) Fordun. edit. Hearn. pag. 847.

in *Britain*, and as giving his name with that of his father, as they call him, *Gathel*, join'd in one name *Ergatheyl*, to the country in *Britain*, which they firſt poſſeſs'd. 2. They place (*a*) him again a king of the *Scots*, *Erch* ſon to *Echad* or *Ethod*, and brother to *Eugenius* at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, about the time the monarchy is ſuppos'd by our modern writers to have been reſtored by *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*. This double mention of *Erch*, as the ſtock of our kings is remarkable, and ſhews us how much the tradition of our kings, being deſcended of *Erch*, or rather of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, was fixed in the minds of the *Scots* at that time, and that the notion of *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, as our firſt king, was not yet known or invented.

BEFORE we enter upon the improvements made in our high antiquities by *John Fordun*, who firſt reduced them to a ſyſtem and order, we muſt of courſe ſet down what *Winton*, prior of *Lochlevin*, ſays of them in his chronicle. We have given account of *Winton* (*b*) among the reſt of our writers: And tho' he wrote only ſome few years after *Fordun*; yet it's certain he had never ſeen *John Fordun*'s chronicle, which, it appears, was not pub-

(*a*) Idem pag. 854.
(*b*) Supra, p. 622.

liſh'd

liſh'd by *Bowmaker Abbot* of *Inchcolm*, till about the year 1448, and that after *Winton*'s time. So *Winton*, knowing nothing of *Fordun*'s new ſyſtems, was ſtill much in the ſame darkneſs and uncertainty about our high antiquities, as the reſt of the nation were in the beginning of the fourteenth age. But having made it his buſineſs to enquire into our hiſtory, and living at the end of the fourteenth age, and beginning of the fifteenth, we may learn from him, what progreſs the opinions already received about our ancient ſettlement, and antiquity of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Britain* had made, during the courſe of that fourteenth age, independently of *John Fordun*'s labours, and what the common opinion and ſenſe of the *Scots* was, upon theſe heads before *John Fordun*'s ſyſtem of our hiſtory was publiſh'd.

WINTON believed according to the tradition received many ages before, that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Britain* before the incarnation: and he fixes the *Epoch* of their coming in, about the year four hundred and forty-three before the birth of Chriſt, as the ſhort *Latin Chron. in Rythm* had done: And as to the opinion of the *Scots* having had kings before the *Picts*, or from about the time of their firſt ſettlement in *Britain*, firſt ſtarted as we have obſerved, at the debate with king *Edward* I. this opinion ſeeming ſo honourable to the nation, and having had in *Winton*'s time about a whole age to ripen, and being then almoſt gene-

rally receiv'd among the *Scots*, *Winton* goes into it heartily at firſt: But then being at the ſame time ſo fully perſuaded, that *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* was the firſt king of the *Scots*, that (*a*) he repeats it over and over three or four ſeveral times in his chronicle; and finding on the other hand, that there were only ten (*b*) generations or deſcents betwixt *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* and *Kenneth Mac Alpin*, who began his reign *A. D.* 842, and overcame the *Picts*; and that it was impoſſible that theſe ten generations could laſt twelve hundred years, as they muſt have done, if *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* had begun to reign over the *Scots* from their firſt ſettlement in *Britain* in his account, more than four hundred years before the incarnation; *Winton* is at laſt with reluctancy forced to part with the notion of the *Scots*, having had a king from their firſt ſettlement; and yet being ſure that the name of their firſt king was *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* (whom he calls always *Erth*, as it was the cuſtom of that age to write) as it was true, he at laſt begins firſt to doubt, and then inclines to believe, that king *Fergus*'s reign was not of ſo old date, and in ſhort leaves the difficulty to be reſolved by others.

IT is evident by the perplexity *Winton* was in, to reconcile *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, his being the firſt

(*a*) Winton's Chronicle, MS. in Bibl. Cotton. fol. 30. fol. 37, 43.

(*b*) Appendix, num 7.

king

king of the *Scots*, with the notion of kings or *Scots* from their firſt ſettlement before the incarnation, and before the *Picts*, that *Winton* knew nothing of any other king *Fergus*, but *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, who was but ten generations before *Kenneth Mac Alpin*; and that in *Winton*'s days, that is, about the end of the fourteenth age, *Fergus* ſon of *Feradac* or *Ferchart*, called king *Fergus* II. was not as yet known as a king of *Scots*, either by *Winton*, or commonly among the *Scots*; and by conſequence, that *Fordun*'s chronicle, where we meet, for the firſt time, with the diſtinction of two kings, firſt and ſecond of the name of *Fergus*, was not yet generally known in the kingdom, nor had ever been ſeen by *Winton*, having never been publiſh'd in all appearance till it came out with additions, during the reign of king *James* II. as hath been already remarked.

AND as to *Winton*, he was ſo far from looking on *Fergus* or (as he calls him with the oldeſt copies of the genealogy) *Fergo* or *Forco* ſon of *Feradach*, as the firſt king, or a king at all, of the *Scots*, that he ſets down his name, as all the oldeſt copies of the genealogy do, confuſedly among the reſt of the names (*a*) of that genealogy of our kings, without taking the leaſt notice of him, more than of the reſt. Now had *Winton* gotten but a

(*a*) Winton, Book III. fol. 30. MS. Colon. —— Bibl. Reg. Lond. lib. 3. c. 10.

hunc

hint of this firſt *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, his having been a king of *Scots*, he had inſtantly diſintangled himſelf, and had been able to reconcile his belief of the *Scots* having been ſettled four hundred years before the incarnation, with their having had kings, and the firſt of them a *Fergus* from the beginning (and ſo to have raiſed their antiquity higher than that of the *Picts*, which he and our other writers chiefly aimed at) ſince there were no leſs than forty-five generations, betwixt this firſt *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, and *Kenneth Mac Alpin*, which were more than enough to fill up twelve hundred years, and ſo would have reconciled all matters, and ſolved all *Winton*'s difficulties. But this diſcovery was left to *Fordun*, whoſe labours in advancing the fabrick of our remote antiquities, and giving them a form, require to be treated of at more length.

§. 5. John Fordun's *labours in the remote antiquities of the* Scots. *Theſe antiquities reduced into a fixed plan and chronological order.*

WE have already (*a*) given a general account of *John Fordun*, and more than once ſpoken of his labours in the *Scotiſh* hiſtory: we are now to treat of his bringing it to that fixed plan and order, which hath been followed by all our later writers, eſpecially in what concerns our high antiquities,

(*a*) Supra, p. 201, &c. 225, 632, &c.

or

or the hiſtory of the *Scots* before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, commonly called *Fergus* II.

To do juſtice to *Fordun*, it appears by what we have ſaid elſewhere of him, that none ever applied to hiſtory with more zeal for his country, nor with a better intention than *Fordun*, nor hath been at greater pains to find out materials, or to digeſt them in a more regular form, conſidering the times in which he wrote. For as to the ſubſtance of his chronicle, it muſt be conſidered, that *Fordun* wrote in an age when there was little or no critical learning, and very little diſtinction made betwixt certain and fabulous monuments of hiſtory; when uncertain popular traditions, and dubious legends, for want of better materials, were often employ'd as documents of hiſtory; when certain national preventions in favour of our remote antiquities run ſo high, that a miſtaken zeal for what was thought in thoſe days honourable to the country, and an apprehenſion to ſhock the better part of the nation, hindered *Fordun* from diſcuſſing matters, and ſo overſwayed him, as it hath done many others, that he believed that the dignity of the crown and kingdom was concern'd in ſupporting by all means the current popular traditions of our remote antiquities, which were become daily more in vogue, ſince the debates about our independency with king *Edward* I.

HENCE

HENCE it happened, that the antiquities of the *Scots* made a new and conſiderable progreſs and figure in paſſing thro' *Fordun*'s hands. For what had been only advanced by conjecture in times paſt, eſpecially at the debate about the independency, and that only to ſerve a turn, and on bare probabilities, or advanced confuſedly in different former ages, without order and connexion, as well as all the popular traditions about the ancient ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, the antiquities of the monarchy, *&c.* all this was by *Fordun* digeſted into a following ſeries of hiſtory, reduced to chronological order, and ſupported with all the documents he had met with in his ſearches, fit for his purpoſe: documents indeed much of the ſame character, as the facts they were brought to ſupport: but documents, after all, and vouchers, much of the ſame nature and credit as thoſe brought by the writers of our neighbouring countries for antiquities of the ſame nature; by the *Britiſh* or *Welch* for their *Brutus*, and the long tract of his ancient ſucceſſors; by the *Iriſh* for their *Mileſius* and his ſucceſſors before chriſtianity, for their ancient litterature, and their other remote antiquities.

WE are now to conſider *Fordun*'s performances more in detail, the grounds he had to go upon, the method which he followed, and the means he was oblig'd to make uſe of, to put in a more re-

gular order the new plan of the fabrick of our remote antiquities, contained in the firſt but chiefly in the ſecond, and beginning of the third book of his chronicle.

As to his firſt book containing the ſtory of the *Scotiſh* high antiquities from *Geythelos* or *Gathelus*, till *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart*, the ſubſtance of that (except what concern'd *Fergus* as a king) had been advanced, and by degrees received among the *Scots* long before *Fordun*; as we have already obſerved (*a*). And *Fordun* only enlarged on the ſame bottom, improved into better order theſe vulgar traditions, and fixed them to certain periods of chronology. It is chiefly in the laſt chapters of his firſt book, in his ſecond, and in the firſt chapter of the third, that the *Scotiſh* remote antiquities received from him their greateſt increaſe and improvement, and were brought to a more regular form and conſiſtency.

We have ſeen in the four foregoing paragraphs, the ſeveral ſteps or degrees of the growth of thoſe antiquities, which, like a large fabrick, received new dimenſions or additions from the ſeveral ages and different hands, through which they had paſſed, but nothing fixed or regular till *Fordun*. The firſt foundation of them, to wit, the opinion of the *Scots*, their having been ſettled in *Ireland*, long

(*a*) Supra, p. 702, 733.

before the incarnation, had been laid many ages ago. The firſt ſuperſtructure upon that, to wit, of the *Scots* having been ſettled in *Britain* about four hundred years before the incarnation, was raiſed before the twelfth age. The firſt additions to that, to wit, of the *Scots* in *Britain*, their having had kings from their firſt ſettlement, was firſt ſtarted at our debates with king *Edward* I. about independency; and by the circumſtances of the times and other reaſons mentioned already in its proper place, ſoon gain'd credit among the *Scots*. The number of their ancient kings was named by conjecture, about twenty years afterwards, in the famous letter of the *Scots* nobility, to pope *John* XXII.

IT remain'd now for *Fordun*'s task in this fabrick, 1°. to reduce former ſuperſtructures into ſymmetry, by digeſting the whole into diſtinct epochs, and a chronological order. 2°. to fix a certain epoch for the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Britain*. 3°. To reduce the number of their ancient kings, within a more plauſible compaſs, to wit, to that of forty-five. 4°. To aſſign their names. 5°. At leaſt to give us the name of the firſt king and founder of the monarchy. 6°. To give a chronological account of their reigns, at leaſt ſuch as he had given of the *Picts*, and as he gave afterwards of the *Scotiſh* kings from *Fergus* II. downwards. 7°. In order to ſupport the credit of the ſtory of the kings of *Scots* in *Britain* before *Fergus*

ſon of *Erch* againſt the plain teſtimonies of all the above-mentioned remains of ancient monuments of the *Scots*, before the twelfth age, and the debates about our independency with *Edward* I. and others of a like purport, *Fordun* had to give a plauſible reaſon, why in all theſe ancient remains of our hiſtory, *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* is reckon'd the firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*; which aſſertion alone, if not obviated or cleared, overturns at once all the ſyſtem of the high antiquities of the *Scots*, or of their forty or forty-five kings before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, or *Fergus* II. Now *Fordun*, being perſwaded of the truth of this ſyſtem, look'd upon all that he met with of theſe remains, contrary to it, in his ſearches, barely as objections or difficulties, which he had to anſwer or remove by explications or diſtinctions. We have already had occaſion to obſerve one means made uſe of by *Fordun* to that purpoſe; but another and more univerſal anſwer, was to find out or diſcover a diſſolution of the ancient *Scotiſh* monarchy, founded by *Fergus* I. ſon of *Ferchard*, and continued down till it was ruined, towards the end of the 4th age of chriſtianity, and a new erection or foundation of it by *Fergus* II. ſon of *Erch*, in the beginning of the fifth age; by which this *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* might be juſtly called the firſt king of the *Scots*, to wit, after the reſtoration of the monarchy.

We are now to give an account of *Fordun*'s proceedings in the execution of this task, conſiſting

ing of the ſeven heads above-mentioned. But before I enter upon that, 'tis of importance both for this, and for other parts of *Fordun*'s chronicle to obſerve, that the chief means that *Fordun* made uſe of to compaſs his deſign, was to ſuppoſe as certain grounds or vouchers of hiſtory, not to be called in queſtion, and that required no farther proof, the popular opinions or traditions received before his time among the *Scots* concerning their antiquities; and from theſe opinions, as from fixed principles, without farther examining the grounds of them, *Fordun*'s method was to draw other hiſtorical inferences that ſeemed honourable to the country, and natural conſequences of theſe popular opinions and traditions already in vogue.

BEFORE I proceed to the uſe and application of this method of *Fordun*'s, in forming his new ſyſtem of our hiſtory, in order to make it be more fully underſtood, I ſhall give here, by the way, a remarkable example of *Fordun*'s proceeding by it in a matter of very great importance, tho' of a different nature, and which more properly belongs to the ſecond part of this eſſay, but which hath had a ſurprizing influence into the civil, as well as eccleſiaſtical ſtate of *Scotland*, which it was not poſſible for *Fordun* to foreſee.

FORDUN found the opinion of the *Scots* having been ſettled in the north of *Britain* ſome ages before the incarnation, received as a certain

hiſtorical fact many ages before his time, and that of an ancient chriſtianity among theſe *Scots*, being no leſs honourable to the nation, had been alſo received among them long before *Fordun*'s days: tho' he is the firſt that we know of, who aſſigned to the converſion of the *Scots*, the fixed date of *A. D.* 203. and that quotes for this the verſes.

Chriſti tranſactis tribus annis atque ducêntis
Scotia *catholicam cœpit habere fidem.*
Roma *Victore primo papa reſidente*
Principe Severo martyr et occubuit.

AND tho' the expreſſion, *Victore primo*, demonſtrates, that thoſe verſes are poſteriour to the eleventh age, when pope *Victor* II. lived, and their barbarous compoſition ſhews, that they are yet later, yet they paſt for good authority in *Fordun*'s time, and apparently before it.

NOW thoſe two facts of the early ſettlement, and early converſion of the *Scots*, being received as hiſtorical truths that no-body called in queſtion, when *Fordun* wrote, he meets in *Bede* and *Sigibert*, with the famous paſſage of *Proſper*'s chronicle, bearing that more than two hundred years after this firſt ſuppos'd converſion of the *Scots*, *A. D.* 431. (*a*) Palladius *was ordained by*

(*a*) Ad Scottos in Chriſtum credentes ordinatur a papa Cæleſtino Palladius, & primus epiſcopus mittitur. *Proſp. Chron.*

pope

pope Celeſtin, *and ſent the firſt biſhop to the* Scots, *who believed in Chriſt. Fordun* made no doubt, but theſe *Scots* believing in *Chriſt*, *credentes in Chriſtum*, were the *Scots* of *Britain*. They had been in his opinion converted two hundred years before, and St. *Patrick* was not yet ſent to convert the *Scots* of *Ireland*. The conſequence in *Fordun*'s judgment ſeemed evident; that during the two firſt ages of the chriſtianity of the *Scots*, from *A. D.* 203, till *A. D.* 431, when *Palladius* the firſt biſhop was ſent to them, the *Scots* had lived without biſhops; and ſince they had perſevered in the profeſſion of chriſtianity, being ſtill *credentes in Chriſtum*; and that the profeſſion of chriſtianity could not be kept up during all that time, without doctors of faith, and paſtors or miniſters of the word and ſacraments; and it being a certain truth, that in the abſence or default of biſhops, none were qualified to exerciſe thoſe ſacred functions but prieſts or monks elevated to the dignity of prieſthood; from all this, as from unqueſtionable principles in *Fordun*'s judgment, he draws this famous concluſion: that (*a*) *before* Palladius's *coming*, *the* Scots *had for doctors of faith and miniſters of the ſacraments*, *prieſts only*, *and monks following the rite of the primitive church.*

(*a*) Ante cujus [Palladii] adventum, habebant Scoti fidei doctores, ac ſacramentorum miniſtratores, presbyteros ſolummodo, vel monachos, ritum ſequentes eccleſiæ primitivæ. *Fordun. lib.* 3. *cap.* 8. *edit. Th. Hearne, p.* 184.

THIS paſſage of *Fordun* at the new reformation of *Scotland*, became the corner-ſtone or fundamental charter of presbyterian government in that kingdom, as containing the moſt ancient account of church government, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the chriſtian religion among the *Scots*. The ſame paſſage hath been ever ſince appealed to, by the ſucceſſors of our firſt reformers in all the debates they have had with the epiſcopal party, concerning the government of the church. It hath alſo been employed by the moſt learned antagoniſts of epiſcopal government among foreigners, as one of their principal arguments: for as a learned (*a*) biſhop of the church of *England* hath obſerved, *In that laborious collection of* Blondel, *under the title of an apology for St.* Hierome, *that writer, with all his vaſt reading, could not find one undoubted example of a church of the presbyterian way in ancient times, but only that of the* Scots.

WE may have occaſion in the ſecond part of this eſſay, to diſcuſs this paſſage more fully, together with thoſe of *Bede*, concerning S. *Columba*, and thoſe of the *Keledees*, which are brought to ſtrengthen *Fordun*'s paſſage; but to ſay a word

(*a*) Bp. of St. *Aſaph*'s Governm. of the Ch. of *G. B.* preface, pag. 5.

here

here of this laſt, will not be out of the way, ſince it will ſerve to make *Fordun*'s method to be more fully underſtood.

THIS famous paſſage of *Fordun*, *Ante cujus* [Palladii] *adventum*, *&c.* is a conſequence which *Fordun* draws from two premiſes, whereof the one is abſolutely groundleſs, and the other at leaſt extremely dubious, tho' both of them were held for certain by *Fordun*. The firſt is, that the *Scots* in *Britain* were converted to chriſtianity, *A. D.* 203. But we have no ground to believe that the *Scots* were come into *Britain*, *A. D.* 203. as hath been already ſhewn (*a*), and that the moſt that can be advanced with any probability or ground, is that the *Scots* began during the third age to come over from *Ireland* into *Britain*, under their firſt leader *Eocha Riada*, call'd *Reuda* by *Bede*. So there could be no converſion of the *Scots* *A. D.* 203, in *Britain*, where they were not as yet ſettled; nor by conſequence any occaſion as yet for paſtors or miniſters of any kind among them. So all the inferences drawn from *Fordun*'s paſſage, *ante cujus*, &c. being built on the ſuppoſition of a profeſſion of chriſtianity, or chriſtian church among the *Scots*, during above two hundred years before the miſſion of *Palladius*, are abſolutely groundleſs.

(*a*) Supra, p.

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THE other premiſe ſuppoſed by *Fordun*, is, that the *Scots* to whom *Palladius* was ſent the firſt biſhop, *A. D.* 431. by pope *Celeſtine*, were the *Scots* of *Britain*. It may indeed be ſaid, that *Palladius* was ſent to the *Scots* in general, that is, to the nation of the *Scots* wherever they were ſettled, and ſo thoſe of *Britain* might be comprehended; and 'tis not unlike, as we may have occaſion to obſerve elſewhere, that this holy biſhop, not being well received by the *Scots* of *Ireland*, and coming over to *Britain*, where he died among the *Picts*, may have probably announced the goſpel to the *Scots* in *Britain*; but as the queſtion is here, of his miſſion and deſtination by pope *Celeſtine*, it appears by another paſſage of St. *Proſper*, who relates this miſſion, that *Palladius*'s miſſion regarded mainly the *Scots* in *Ireland*. For *Proſper* (*a*) ſeems viſibly to diſtinguiſh the iſland to which *Palladius* was ſent, as being a barbarous iſland, that is, in *Proſper*'s language, an iſland that had never been ſubject to, nor cultivated by the *Romans*, from *Britain*, which he calls a *Roman* iſland, becauſe the far greateſt part of it (and among the reſt, thoſe provinces of *Scotland* that lie

(*a*) Nec Segniore cura hoc ab eodem morbo [*Pelagianiſmi*] Britannias liberavit [*Cæleſtinus*] quando quoſdam inimicos gratiæ ſolum ſuæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo ſecreto excluſit oceani: & ordinato Scotis epiſcopo, dum *Romanam* inſulam ſtudet ſervare catholicam, fecit etiam *barbaram* chriſtianam. *Proſper contra Collator. cap.* 41

to the ſouth of the *Friths*) had been civilized by the *Roman* diſcipline and polity.

BUT I add farther, that giving and not granting that this concluſion of *Fordun*, *ante cujus* [Palladii] *adventum*, *&c.* had been well drawn in the ſenſe that *Fordun* meant it, the inference that the anti-epiſcopal writers draw from it, to wit, that before *Palladius*'s miſſion, there was during two hundred years in *Scotland*, a ſucceſſion of paſtors, or miniſters of the word and ſacraments, who had no epiſcopal ordination, and none but that of *Laymen* or ſimple presbyters; this inference is abſolutely groundleſs, for neither *Fordun* himſelf, who knew that the doctrine of presbyterian parity was contrary to that of the church of all ages, and had been lately condemned in his own time, among the propoſitions of *Wickliff*, could ever entertain any ſuch imagination; no more than *Major*, *Boece*, *Leſly*, *&c.* who copied after him: but all that *Fordun* and theſe other *Roman Catholick* writers underſtood, or could underſtand by the expreſſion *ante cujus*, *&c.* was, that tho' the *Scots* had, as they believed, received chriſtianity, *A. D.* 203. yet they had not a proper biſhop ſent to them, or reſiding among them, till the coming of *Palladius*, *A. D.* 431. and ſo the chriſtian *Scots* had been obliged till then to content themſelves with prieſts and monks, elevated to the dignity of prieſthood by the neighbouring or foreign biſhops. But to conclude from that paſſage of *Fordun*, as

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the anti-epiſcopal writers do, that becauſe (according to *Fordun*) theſe *Scots* chriſtians had no proper biſhop as yet ſent to them, till two hundred years after their firſt converſion; that therefore they had no other miniſters of the word and ſacraments but nominal prieſts or monks, who took upon themſelves the ſacred functions, without epiſcopal or any other ordination, but that of *Laymen* or *Preſbyters*, is no leſs ridiculous, than if one ſhould conclude, that the clergy or regular prieſts, who were the only miniſters of the word and ſacraments among the *Roman Catholicks* in *Scotland* for more than one hundred years after the reformation, had no other ordination, but what they gave to one another, becauſe, during all that time there was no biſhop of their communion reſiding in *Scotland*.

As to the expreſſion of *Proſper*, *ad Scotos credentes in Chriſtum*. That *Palladius* was ſent to the *Scots*, who believed in Chriſt, from which ſome conclude that the *Scots* were chriſtians before the coming of *Palladius*. But that no ways follows. That there were ſome chriſtians, or a beginning of chriſtianity among the *Scots*, whether in *Ireland* or in *Britain*, when *Palladius* was ſent, is very likely. They both dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Britains*, who were early chriſtians, and either by commerce with them, or by chriſtian captives, which the *Scots* carried off frequently from among the *Britains*, there's all likelihood

lihood, that before *Palladius*'s coming there were ſeveral chriſtians among the *Scots* both in *Ireland* and in *Britain*: and it appears by eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that it was the cuſtom of the zealous biſhops of the neighbourhood in ancient times, and more yet of the popes, to ſend in biſhops to countries where there was already a beginning of chriſtianity, or a diſpoſition towards it. And this is all that *Proſper*'s expreſſion imports. But all this will be more fully diſcuſſed in its proper place.

THUS far only, by the way, as to this famous paſſage of *Fordun*, which hath been made uſe of by the antiepiſcopal party in *Scotland*, as one of the chief arguments for presbyterain government, from the times of the reformation. So I return to *Fordun*, and to the particular account of his method of proceeding in the execution of his task, conſiſting of the ſeven above-mentioned heads.

AS to the firſt head, or part of his undertaking, to wit, the reducing to fixed *Epochs*, and the digeſting into a chronological order the confuſed maſs of the materials he had to work upon, conſiſting chiefly of popular traditions, legendary accounts about the *Scotiſh* antiquities, and of all that had been till his time advanced in different ages, and on different occaſions, of what had paſſed among the *Scots* before the fourth and fifth ages of chriſtianity. As to all this, I ſay, we have (a)

(a) Supra, p. 207, 208, &c.

already ſeen that he reduced to a certain order of chronology both theſe high antiquities, and the more modern and certain accounts of the *Scots* digeſted into fixed *Epochs*, in the abſtract we have given elſewhere of the ſeveral books of *Fordun*'s chronicle.

WE come therefore now to the ſecond and fifth part of *Fordun*'s task in the advancing the fabrick of our remote antiquities, to wit, the fixing a certain *Epoch*, and preciſe year of the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy before the incarnation, and the aſſigning the name of the firſt monarch and founder of it.

THE tradition of the *Scots* ancient ſetttlement in *Britain* was univerſally received among them long before *Fordun*; and this ſettlement was ſuppoſed to have begun above four centuries before the incarnation: but the firſt *Scotiſh* document we have now remaining of it, to wit, the ſhort chronicle in (*a*) *Latin* verſe or rythms, is poſitive that they had no kings in the *Scotiſh* line till *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*. This we have ſhewn elſewhere, from all the monuments remaining of our ancient hiſtory before the year 1291. And the firſt mention we have of ancient kings, before *Fergus*, was at the debates in king *Edward* I's time. Tho' 'tis not improbable, that there were ſome notions and

(*a*) Append. n. 6. c. 6.

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uncertain opinions begun to grow up and ſpread amomg the *Scots* before theſe debates: that ſeeming a natural conſequence of their being perſuaded that the *Scots* were ſettled in *Britain* ſo long before the birth of Chriſt: but till theſe debates, I find no certain teſtimony of it in any monument of hiſtory I have yet met with.

HOWEVER, the fact had been advanced, as we have ſeen, with great aſſurance, in the memorials given in to pope *Boniface* VIII. in the heat of the debate; and in the *Scots* nobility's letter to pope *John* XXII. and had now paſt current, and been generally received among the *Scots* from the beginning of the fourteenth century, till *Fordun*'s time. So when he ſet about to write the hiſtory, he was no more maſter to contradict ſo plauſible, and ſo received an opinion, nor indeed diſpoſed to call in doubt what he eſteemed honourable to the nation, and ſo acceptable to his countrymen, as the opinion of ſo ancient a ſucceſſion of kings. He made it rather his buſineſs to confirm it: and probably the chief end of his travels and ſearches was to find documents proper for proving that, and the other heads above-mentioned.

To return then to the ſecond and fifth heads, to wit, the fixing the *Epoch* of the beginning of the *Scots* monarchy, and the perſon of the firſt king or founder: hitherto we have ſeen nothing agreed on ſince the firſt mention of ancient kings.

Neither

Neither the memorials, *A. D.* 1301, nor the letter to pope *John* XXII. *A. D.* 1320, fix any *Epoch* of the monarchy, nor ſo much as name the firſt king; and *Winton*, who according to the truth of hiſtory, named him *Fergus*, *Erch*'s ſon, as all *Scotiſh* writers, before *Fordun* had done, not being able to reconcile that with the vulgar opinion of the antiquity of the monarchy, falls in contradiction with himſelf, and at laſt leaves the matter in doubt, as we have ſeen, to be reſolved by others.

FORDUN was the firſt, that we know of, who fixed the *Epoch* of the monarchy to the year 330, before the incarnation, and who places *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart* the firſt king of the *Scots*, and founder of the monarchy.

As to his fixing the beginning of the monarchy to the year 330, before the birth of Chriſt, beſides his vouchers, whom we ſhall juſt now conſider, I conceive one of his chief motives to fix on that year may have been this plauſible conjecture, that finding, as we have ſeen, the firſt ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* fixed before his time to the year 443, or thereabout, before the incarnation, he thought it was natural to allow them about one hundred years to increaſe their number, and enlarge their bounds under the firſt leaders of their colonies from *Ireland*, before they got a king or monarch, to whom all were ſubject. So that placing the beginning of the monarchy, and of the

the reign of their firſt king, about one hundred and ten years after their entry to *Britain*, that is, about the year 330, before the incarnation, was very probable, on the ſuppoſition already received, that the *Scots* came firſt to *Britain*, about four hundred and forty years before it.

FORDUN was alſo the firſt, that we know of, who raiſed to the dignity of firſt monarch of the *Scots* in *Britain*, *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart*, or *Feradach*, whoſe name had, till *Fordun*'s time, lain confuſedly among the other names of the old genealogy of our kings, without any mark of diſtinction, or having ever been taken notice of, till *Fordun* added to his name, in the two copies he gives of the genealogy, the quality of *firſt king of* Albany; for none of the copies, antecedent to them, ſuch as that in the appendix, *num.* 4. and that of *Ralph de Diceto*, both in the twelfth age, have that addition: nor even thoſe that wrote after him, without copying his chronicle, ſuch as *Winton* and *Gray*, &c. *Fordun* was determined to make choice of this firſt *Fergus*, and ſet him up for the founder of the *Scotiſh* monarchy, as a natural conſequence from what he found already received and believed by the *Scots*, concerning theſe high antiquities; for that once ſuppoſed, nothing can be more plauſible than the conſequence he draws in favour of *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart*.

FOR, 1°. The opinion of the *Scots* having had kings ſome ages before the incarnation, was generally received before *Fordun*'s time, and having been made uſe of by the apologiſts of the *Scots*, in the debate for the independency and dignity of the crown againſt king *Edward* I's pretenſions, it was no more to be called in queſtion in *Fordun*'s days. 2°. It was unqueſtionably more certain, and more univerſally received, that the name of the firſt king of the *Scots*, and of the founder of their monarchy in *Britain*, was *Fergus*. All the *Scots*, till the fourteenth age, had believed that it was *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, as we have ſeen; but this could not agree with the monarchy's beginning ſome ages before the incarnation, ſince this *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* is placed, in the genealogy univerſally received, only ten generations or deſcents before *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, who lived in the ninth age. This was a labyrinth out of which *Winton* could not extricate himſelf.

FORDUN, who ſeems to have had more genius and learning, as well as more application, than *Winton*, found means to reconcile this contradiction; for, by looking back more attentively into the old genealogy, he diſcovered another *Fergus*, the ſon of *Feradath*, whom *Winton*, and all *Scotiſh* writers till *Fordun*, had paſſed over, without taking any more notice of him than of the reſt of the old names in that genealogy:

nealogy: whereas *Fordun* finding this firſt *Fergus* in the ſeries of that genealogy, about forty-five generations or deſcents before *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, which, according to the vulgar reckoning of thirty years for each generation, amounted to a number of years ſufficient to place this firſt *Fergus* at the beginning of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in his account, that is, three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation: upon this diſcovery, *Fordun* naturally concluded that this *Fergus* ſon of *Feradach*, was the *Fergus* firſt king and founder of the *Scotiſh* monarchy; and by this means reconciled the then current tradition of the monarchy's beginning ſome ages before the incarnation, with its having had a *Fergus* for its founder, and firſt king.

BUT becauſe, by all the remains of the ancient hiſtory of the *Scots*, it appeared that the *Scots* had always held *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* for their firſt king, it was neceſſary that *Fordun*, in order to have his new ſcheme received with leſs difficulty, ſhould in the firſt place bring ſome authorities to prove, that the firſt king of the *Scots* was *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, and that the monarchy began three hundred and thirty years before the incarnation. 2dly, That he ſhould find ſome means to anſwer the objection drawn from the ancient monuments, in which *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* is called in expreſs terms the firſt king of the *Scots*. We are then in the firſt place to hear his proofs for be-

ginning the *Scotiſh* monarchy three hundred and thirty years before Chriſt, and *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart* his being their firſt king. We ſhall afterwards relate the means he makes uſe of, to obviate or explain the ancient teſtimonies of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, his being the firſt king of the *Scots*.

HIS vouchers for the firſt are, 1°. these four *Latin* verſes.

Albion (*a*) *in terris rex primus germine Scotus*
Ipſorum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis
Ferguſius fulvo Ferchard rugientis in arvo
Chriſtum trecentis ter denis præfuit annis.

Fordun doth not tell us whence he had thoſe verſes, whether from any former writer or chronicle, new or old: but tho' I will believe he found them made to his hand, yet it muſt be own'd, that the author of them, be who he will, muſt have been very little skilled, if he intended that they ſhould paſs for ancient, ſince king *Alexander* II, in the thirteenth age, is the firſt of our kings, in whoſe ſeal we find the lyon rampant on his ſhield. For there are no arms on the ſeals of his predeceſſors *Duncan*, *Edgar*, *Alexander* I. *David* I. *Malcolm* IV. nor on that of king *William*, and the blazoning, 'tis like, is yet poſterious. So theſe verſes

(*a*) Fordun. edit. Hearne, l. 2. c. 12. p. 85

are

are probably no older than the fourteenth age, when, as we have obſerved, theſe ancient kings before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* were firſt mentioned, or rather theſe verſes are only the productions of *Fordun*'s own time, ſince he is the firſt who calls *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart* firſt king of the *Scots*.

FORDUN's ſecond voucher is a legend of St. *Congal* an *Iriſh* ſaint, which, he ſays, relates (*a*) that *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard* brought with him the famous chair from *Ireland* to *Scotland*, and was crowned in it the firſt king of the *Scots*. It will no doubt at firſt appear a little ſurprizing, to find an account of this nature in the life of a ſaint. But it muſt be conſidered, that it was no unuſual thing among the *Iriſh*, to ſet down ſtories of their remote high antiquities, or other parts of their hiſtory, in the preface to ſome of their ſaints lives. Thus we have in the preface to the life of St. *Abban* (*b*) and in that of St. *Cadroe* in *Colgan*'s collections, rude draughts of the *Iriſh* remote antiquities.

AND if *Colgan* had continued his collection till the twelfth of *May*, the feaſt of *Congal*, we might perhaps in the preface to it, have met with ſome word of a *Fergus* king of *Scots*; for I can ſcarce doubt but that in *Fordun*'s time, there was ex-

(*a*) Fordun, l. 3. c. 12. edit. Hearn. p. 86.
(*b*) Colgan. Act. SS. Hybern. tom. I. p. 494, & 610.

tant ſomething of this kind, in the life of that famous abbot of *Banchor* in *Ireland*, in the ſixth age. But in caſe there was, no doubt it was to be underſtood of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, for this was the *Fergus*, who according to the old *Latin Rythmical* chronicle above-mentioned, brought from *Ireland* the famous ſtone, and made himſelf firſt king over the *Scots*, in the beginning of the ſixth age in which S. *Congal Abbot* lived. And ſo 'tis not unlikely, that ſuch a famous tranſaction which happen'd near the ſaint's time, and which was ſo honourable to the *Scots*, both of *Ireland* and of *Britain*, might have been mentioned in the preface to this ſaint's life.

BUT 'tis like, *Fordun*'s miſtake lay, in ſuppoſing the *Fergus*, mentioned in this life, was the ſon of *Ferchart*, and in applying to him here, as he doth elſewhere, what he found ſaid of a *Fergus* firſt king of the *Scots*, that brought over the famous ſtone; becauſe for the reaſons already given, he looked on *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart*, as the firſt founder of the *Scotiſh* monarchy: tho' the original writer of S. *Congal*'s life, no doubt meant *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, whom all ancient writers, till the fourteenth age, looked upon as the firſt king of the *Scots*. So that legend of S. *Congal*'s, tho' we could find it, would prove of no more ſervice towards *Fordun*'s ſyſtem, in favour of *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart*, than the *Latin* verſes he brought for his firſt voucher.

I HAVE

I HAVE found at laſt the life of this S. *Congal*. It was publiſhed by *F. Fleming*, among the works of St. *Colomban*. But there's not a word of *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchart* in it, or any thing relating to *Fordun*'s narration.

BUT there remained as yet the hardeſt and moſt eſſential part of *Fordun*'s task, in order to ſupport the new ſcheme of the *Scotiſh* kings, before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*. He had to find a plauſible anſwer to the objection drawn from the remains above-mentioned, of the ancient chronicles or hiſtories of the *Scots*; in all which *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* is conſtantly reckoned firſt king of the *Scots*. *Fordun* was too diligent in his ſearches, to let ſuch pieces eſcape his knowledge, and he was too ingenuous to deny their authority, how much ſoever they ſeemed oppoſite to his ſcheme of our antiquities: nay, he is ſo ſincere as that he mentions, and even ſets down, almoſt *verbatim* one of the moſt preciſe of them, as we have ſeen (*a*) elſewhere, and obſerved the turn which he gives the paſſage, by the adding a few words, to take off the force of it.

BUT that was not enough, nor like to ſatisfy thoſe, in whoſe hands thoſe ancient pieces ſhould fall. They are all very formal, that Fergus *ſon of*

(*a*) Supra, p. 672, 673.

Erch *was the firſt king of the* Scots *in* Britain. The conſequence ſeemed plainly to overturn *Fordun*'s ſyſtem of forty-five kings, or indeed of any ſoveraign kings at all, before this *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*. *Fordun* was aware of this conſequence, and being, I ſuppoſe, at the ſame time fully perſwaded of the truth of what he had advanced, he finds a diſtinction to evade the objection, to take off the force of the conſequence; and to reconcile to his new ſyſtem, the expreſſions of the ancient extracts of the chronicles, where *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* is conſtantly called firſt king of the *Scots*.

In order to that, he found a very natural expedient to rid himſelf of that difficulty, and this was to ſuppoſe, that there muſt needs have been a ſecond beginning and new founding, or rather a reſtoration of the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, by *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, which gave ſufficient ground to ancient authors, to call this *Fergus* the firſt king of the *Scots*, to wit, after the reſtoration of the monarchy. Now a reſtoration neceſſarily ſuppos'd a diſſolution; and therefore *Fordun* is at ſo much pains to find vouchers for a diſſolution or deſtruction of the kingdom of *Scots*, in the times immediately preceding the fifth age, where he places the reſtoration of *Fergus* II. He quotes for that a paſſage of *Sigebert*, who had taken it from *Tiro Proſper*, or *Gregory* of *Tours*. But all that the paſſages of theſe two writers import, is, that *Maximus* having uſurped the empire, did beat o

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the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were making incurſions upon it. But that was uſual in thoſe ages, and imports neither that the *Scots* had any kingdom then in *Britain*, nor that *Maximus* deſtroyed it, and indeed the bulk of the ſtory that *Fordun* gives of *Maximus*, his martial feats in *Britain*, is originally owing to *Geoffrey*, who calls him *Maximian*, and makes him a *Britain*.

UPON the whole, *Fordun* ſeems to have argued or reaſoned thus with himſelf, tho' he doth not expreſs his argument in formal terms. *Fergus* ſon of *Erch* was indeed firſt king of the *Scots* in *Britain*, as the ancient *Scotiſh* writers call him; but that is to be underſtood, that he was their firſt king after their re-entring *Britain*, and reſtoration of the monarchy: but it doth not follow, that this *Fergus* was abſolutely their firſt king, or founder of the monarchy. There muſt needs then have been a diſperſion of the *Scots*, and a deſtruction of their monarchy in *Britain* in the fourth age. *Fordun* continues: this diſperſion of the *Scots*, and diſſolution of their monarchy, laſted about forty years; during which time, all the *Scots* of *Britain*, princes, and people were diſperſed and baniſhed into foreign countries. At laſt, *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, deſcended of the ancient kings of the *Scots*, having gathered them together from ſeveral places, entered *Britain* at their head, conquered anew their ancient territories; and having ſet up again and reſtored the monarchy, became a new

founder

founder of it, and deſerved to be called by the title of *firſt king of the* Scots, to wit, after this new erection or reſtoration of the kingdom. Thus *Fordun* muſt have reaſoned, in order to reconcile his ſyſtem of the forty-five kings, with the remains of the ancient chronicles of the *Scots*.

As to the grounds or vouchers that *Fordun* had for this expulſion of the *Scots* out of *Britain*, all that he brings, as we obſerved above, is a paſſage of *Gigibert*, and the feats of *Maximus* from *Geoffrey*, who calls him *Maximian*. But if *Fordun* had lived after the times of the reſtoration of literature in the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth age, when many ancient *Roman* writers (which in *Fordun*'s time lay unknown in the corners of ancient libraries) were publiſhed and made common, he would have met with proofs of a defeat and expulſion of the *Scots* and *Picts* out of their poſſeſſions by the famous general *Theodoſius*, father to the firſt emperor of that name, during the reign of *Valentian* I. and of their being forced to retire at leaſt to the northern extremities of *Britain*. All this he would have found in (*a*) *Ammian* and (*b*) *Claudian*, two famous writers of the time: and that it happened near about the time in which he fixes the expulſion of the *Scots* by *Maximus*.

(*a*) Amm. Marcel. ed. Valeſ. in 4to. l. 27. p. 346.
(*b*) Claudian. Panegyr. in III. & IV. Conſulat. Honor.

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I SAY *near about the time*; for this expedition of *Theodoſius* againſt the *Scots* and *Picts* happened at ſooneſt, *A. D.* 367, whereas *Fordun* fixes the expulſion of the *Scots* by *Maximus* preciſely to the year 360; and to confirm it, he brings verſes which import that the exile of the *Scots* out of *Britain* laſted forty-three years, which ending in his account by the reſtoration, *A. D.* 403, determines the year 360 for their expulſion. But as this calculation agrees not fully with the expedition of the general *Theodoſius*, ſo it diſagrees entirely with the uſurpation of *Maximus* by twenty-three years; ſince he was not proclaimed emperor till *A.D.* 383. And the writers *Severus Sulpitius*, *Zozimus*, and others that lived in or near the time, aſcribe no command to *Maximus* in *Britain*, nor ſo much as name him till he took the purple; and are poſitive, that immediately after he was proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiers, he paſſed ſuddenly over to the *Gauls*, with all the forces he could make, and ſurprized the emperor *Gratian* unawares. This leaves no room for his expedition againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, either before or after his uſurpation, much leſs for his making a long war againſt them.

BUT beſides that, neither theſe *Roman* writers, nor any other before the fourteenth age, give any ground to ſuppoſe that the *Scots* had any kingdom in *Britain* in the fourth age, we may ſurely reckon that *Fordun* had never ſeen theſe writers that gave

gave an account of the expedition of *Theodoſius*, nor perhaps ever heard of them. Accordingly in the forty-fourth, forty-fifth, and forty-ninth chapters of his ſecond book, and firſt and ſecond chapters of his third book, in which he gives an account at length of the expulſion and reſtoration of the *Scots*; whoſoever will compare his narration with the fourth chapter of the ſecond book of *Geoffrey*'s hiſtory of the *Britons*, will eaſily perceive whence *Fordun* took the ſtory of *Maximus*'s atchievements in *Britain*. And nothing that we have hitherto met with in *Fordun*, looks like a tolerable proof of a deſtruction or reſtoration of a *Scotiſh* monarchy in *Britain* in theſe times.

HOWEVER, to confirm it by a new argument, *Fordun* gives us another *Latin* piece of poeſy, beginning with theſe words, (*a*) *Agmine condenſo ventis*, &c. *Fordun* doth not tell us whence he had

(*a*) Agmine condenſo ventis velamina pandit:
Et ratis æquoreos atque galea petunt
Fluctus: in his acies juvenum phalerata ſuperbo
Principe congreditur. Nec mora, turba potens
Ad natale ſolum properat; relevare jacentes
Rex faſces regni ceſpite ſoſpes adit
Intrepidus patrio, pandens vexilla Leonis,
Terruit occurſu quem fera nulla ferox.
Ocius advenit, fuerat quæ turbine diro
Subdita plebs, annis X quater & tribus; hæc
Congaudens patrio regi ſervire parata,
Ad libertatem quicquid ut orbe volat.

Fordun. l. 3. c. 1. p. 171. edit. Th. Hearne.

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theſe verſes; but the lion placed in king *Fergus* II's banner, at the head of his troops, and the ſtile of the verſes, can give us no better opinion of the author, and of the antiquity of this compoſition, than of the other verſes already (*a*) mentioned, in which the entry of *Fergus* I. to *Britain* is deſcribed So, upon the whole, it appears, that the chief ground *Fordun* had to go upon, for a diſſolution and reſtoration of the *Scotiſh* monarchy in the fourth age, were not drawn from the authority of ancient writers, but that his chief motive was to reconcile, by that means, the formal expreſſions of the extracts or abridgments of the old *Scotiſh* chronicles, ſuch as we have ſet them down, with the perſuaſion that he was in, that the *Scotiſh* monarchy was begun many ages before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*.

As to his placing the beginning of *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*'s reign in the year 403, inſtead of 503, and thus anticipating the date of it a full hundred years, as we have (*b*) ſhewn, I ſee no other reaſon for this, than that looking on the beginning of this *Fergus*'s reign, rather as the reſtoration of an ancient kingdom, diſſolved by oppreſſion and invaſion, than as the ſetting up a new one, and finding in ſuch hiſtories, as he had occaſion to meet with, no more proper perſon to become the author of

(*a*) Supra, p. 740.
(*b*) Ibid. p. &c.

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the *Scotiſh* overthrow, than the tyrant *Maximus*, as he is deſcribed by *Geoffrey*, towards the end of the fourth century, he found it neceſſary to place the reſtoration about the beginning of the fifth century, leſt if he had deferr'd it, and by conſequence the beginning of *Fergus* II's reign, till the ſixth century, the interval of about one hundred and forty years would have been too long, and the monarchy reſtored by *Fergus* II. would rather have looked like the ſetting up of a new kingdom, than the continuation or reſtoration of an ancient one.

BUT it happened here to *Fordun*, what uſually falls out to thoſe that build upon a crazy foundation, the building they erect muſt neceſſarily be tottering, and full of crevices, ſo that no ſooner one chink or crevice is filled up, but another breaks out. This anticipating the reign of *Fergus* II. about one hundred years (beſides that it is contradicted by all the remains of our ancient hiſtory, and by the common way of allowing three generations to a century) threw *Fordun*'s ſyſtem into another inconveniency, and diſcovered a new flaw in it, by making three generations fill up two centuries, againſt the conſtant courſe of deſcents, and ſucceſſion of the race of our kings ever ſince; as I have (*a*) ſhewn elſewhere.

(*a*) Supra, p 690, 691.

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As to the number of the ancient kings preceding *Fergus* II, there was nothing certain till *Fordun*: we have (*b*) ſeen the uncertainties and contradictions under which our countrymen labour'd, when the ſtory of theſe ancient kings was firſt advanced. The firſt account we have of their number from an unknown (*c*) hand in theſe dark times, is abſolutely incredible: and I have ſeen a *Scotiſh* writer (*d*), in the time of king *James* III. or IV. that reckons the number of theſe kings ſix ſcore, beginning at *Simon Brek*, who, this writer ſuppoſes, came in Perſon to *Scotland*. The *Scots* nobility's letter to pope *John* XXII, *A. D.* 1320, reduces them from that exorbitant number, and fixes the number of theſe ancient kings to that of fifty-ſeven. *Fordun* lays aſide about a dozen more, and reduces them to forty-five. *Boece*, and his followers, takes off five or ſix more, and fixes the number of the kings before *Fergus* II. at thirty-nine; by all which, we ſee the *Scots* in former ages, were not ſo ſcrupulous as ſome of our modern writers, who make it a crime to alter the number of thoſe ancient kings, as they are ſet down by *Boece*. But to return to *Fordun*, he gives us no account of the grounds he went upon, for this number of forty-five, nor ſo much as the names of theſe kings, except three or four, or

(*b*) Ibid. p. 709, 710.
(*c*) Ibid. p. ibid.
(*d*) Bibliot. Reg. Lond. ad calcem Chron. And. Winton.

ſuch

ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to be in the old genealogy, without diſtinguiſhing who of thoſe were kings, or who were not.

As to their lives and actions, we are left almoſt quite in the dark by *Fordun*. He gives us a touch of the beginning of his *Fergus* I's reign, applying to him as the firſt king, what belonged to *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, who was truly the firſt king; and, after adding ſomething of *Rether*, whom he ſuppoſes all one with *Beda*'s *Reuda*, all the reſt of his ſecond book deſigned to contain the hiſtory of his forty-five kings, is filled up, moſt part, with parcels of the general hiſtory, ſacred or prophane, of theſe firſt ages; and particularly of the *Romans*, *Britons*, *Scots* and *Picts*, taken from *Eutropius*, *Bede*, *Jeffery* of *Monmouth*, &c. from ſome legends and traditions of the vulgar, and without ſo much as naming any one more of theſe forty-five kings. *Fordun* concludes their whole hiſtory in theſe few words: (a) *A primo hujus Regni Rege Fergusio filio Ferechard ad* [hunc] *Regem Fergusium filium Erch inclusive quadraginta quinque Reges ejusdem gentis & generis, in hac insula regnaverunt. Sed & horum, singillatim distinguere tempora Principatuum, ad præsens omittimus, nam ad plenum scripta non reperimus.* This is indeed but a ſorry account of theſe his ancient kings: however, in theſe laſt words, *Fordun* inſinuates, that he had found ſome

(a) Ford. l. 3. c. 2. edit. Hearn. p. 173

Account

account of them, but not full enough to be ſet down.

THE truth is, *Fordun* had the old genealogy, containing the ſeries of the deſcents, from *Fergus* ſon of *Ferchard*, called *Fergus* I, till *Fergus* II. the ſon of *Erch*. This was indeed ſome account, being about thirty-two names: but though they had been all kings of *Scots* in *Britain*, which was to be proved, yet there were ſtill wanting twelve or thirteen more to make up the number of forty-four or forty-five. So he had reaſon to ſay, that he had not as yet found a full account of them.

IF *Fordun* had left any other account of the forty-five kings than this, it would, no doubt, have been preſerved with a yet greater care than the collections, it is believed, he left towards continuing down his chronicle after the firſt five books. Theſe collections have been preſerved, and perhaps may be a part of what *M. Hearne* hath printed, beginning *p.* 499 of his edition of *Fordun*, A.D. 1722. Now any collections left by *Fordun* of the forty-five kings, had been much more precious than thoſe of modern times, and had been, no doubt, preſerved by thoſe who had the care and keeping of his chronicles, and his other collections, or by ſome or other of his many continuators in the fifteenth age, who were all in queſt of materials for ſupplying the deficiency

or gap in the ſtory of the forty-five kings left imperfect in his ſecond book.

THE words of *Fordun*, *A primo hujus Regni Rege*, *&c.* above-cited, craved that of them, and made a natural impreſſion of the want of a ſupplement upon thoſe that read or copied that paſſage: as we ſee by an addition to *Fordun*'s text, in the MS. (*a*) chronicle of *Couper*; where, after theſe laſt words of the above-cited paſſage, *ad plenum ſcripta non reperimus*, the writer adds, *præterquam l.* 3. *c.* 9. by which it would at firſt appear, that the writer ſends us to a place, where we will find, at leaſt, ſome farther account of the forty-five kings preceding *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*: but when we come to this place, all we meet with is a part of the old *Latin* chronicle in rythm, beginning *Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis*, and ſo continues down the reſt of the ſeries of the kings ſucceſſors to *Fergus* II. ſon to *Erch*, inſtead of thoſe of *Fergus* I. which the reader was put in hopes of. But this ſhews the lively impreſſion that paſſage of *Fordun* made on that writer, of the want of a ſupplement to the forty-five kings. Moſt of the other continuators of *Fordun* have made additions to his text; but none of them give us any farther account of the forty-five ancient kings of *Scots* before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*.

(*a*) Chron. Cupri MS. l. 3. c. 2.

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THE firſt I have met with that attempted it, is one *Gremond Domate*, whoſe MS. hiſtory is in the library of St. *Genoveve* at *Paris*. Of this author, and of his eſſay on the kings before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, I have (*a*) elſewhere given a full account, to which I refer the reader. I have only here to add, 1°. That this writer, for a further account of the forty-five kings, ſends us to the old books of *Ireland:* for, in his tranſlation of *Fordun*, he gives this verſion, or rather paraphraſe, in his old *Gaulois* of *Fordun*'s famous paſſage, *A primo hujus Regni Rege, &c. A* (*b*) *preſent laiſſons de parler* [de ces 45 Rois] *qui touts furent d'ung meſme ſang & genre comme plainement appert aux anciens Livres d'Hybernie (ſic) car a preſent n'avons trouvé a plain de leur antique origine dignifique (ſic).* 2°. That *Domate* wrote and dedicated his tranſlation of this chronicle of *Scotland* to *John* duke of *Albany*, A. D. 1519, that is, about five or ſix years only before *Boece*'s hiſtory appeared in print, and about the very time that *Boece*'s famous vouchers were ſaid to have been diſcovered with an ample account, as *Boece* tells us, of the firſt forty kings.

(*a*) Supra, p. 633.
(*b*) Grem. Domate, MS. liv. 3. chap. 2. fol. 50.

CONCLUSION.

§. 6. *Sixth and laſt ſtep of the growth of our high antiquities by* Boece *and* Buchanan.

IT only remains to treat now, 1°. of *Boece*'s own labours, and of his bringing the fabrick of our high antiquities to its full height and dimenſions, by giving us, on the credit of his vouchers, beſides other embelliſhments, a detailed account of the lives and actions of the forty kings before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, which *Fordun*, and his continuators, had left ſo lame and imperfect. 2°. Of the poliſhing and adorning this fabrick by *Buchanan*, a more polite writer, and more skilled architect, who, removing the rubbiſh of palpable fables, and reforming the irregularities that *Boece*'s unskilful hand had left in that fabrick, reduced it to a more perfect ſymmetry, and varniſhed it all over, to render it more taking and agreeable to his countrymen, and more proper to ſupport the cauſe in which he was imbarked.

BUT having given elſewhere a full account of the labours of both theſe writers of our hiſtory in its proper (a) place, I need only refer the reader to it.

(a) Supra, p. 214, &c. and p. 305, 361, &c.

BUT to do juſtice to *Hector Boece*, I cannot but add here to what I have (*a*) elſewhere obſerved, that as to the motives he had in writing our hiſtory, I cannot ſee the leaſt ground to ſuſpect that he himſelf had any view or deſign to ſupport any party or faction againſt the ſoveraign, or to juſtify the rebellion againſt king *James* III, but quite the contrary, in the catalogue which *Boece* left of our kings, in which he gives a ſhort character of each of them, and continues it down till king *James* V; he gives a quite contrary character of king *James* III. from what *Buchanan* gives him, and from what he himſelf had given of the wicked kings from his *Veremund*; and ſpeaks with indignation of the conſpiracy of a part of the nobility againſt him, and of the manner of his death that enſued upon it. And no wonder; for he had his information from the great and loyal biſhop *Elphinſton*, who remained ſtedfaſt in his fidelity to his ſoveraign king *James* III. to the laſt moment. All this is a new confirmation that *Boece*'s ſimplicity was impoſed upon by the pretended hiſtories of *Veremund*, &c. which he took for genuine copies of ancient pieces, though, as as it hath been ſhewn elſewhere, they were forged after the act paſſed to juſtify the rebellion againſt king *James* III, and moſt probably by ſome of thoſe concerned in that rebellion, or by dependers

(*a*) Supra, p. 365.

on thoſe who had a hand in it. But enough of that in its proper place.

As to *Buchanan*, his motives in writing our hiſtory, are demonſtrated by his own actions and writings; of which enough alſo hath been ſaid.

And now, after all that I have ſaid in this chapter, and the account that I have given of the ſeveral ſteps and additions, by which our high antiquities grew up through the ſeveral ages and hands they have paſſed, the learned and judicious reader will be now pretty well ſatisfied, that at the bottom all the ſtory of theſe remote antiquities, that is, of the forty kings of the *Scots* in *Britain* before *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*, are, if not abſolutely fabulous, at leaſt entirely uncertain and groundleſs, notwithſtanding all the details of facts, ſucceſſions of kings, attended with genealogies, and chronological dates, and all the other characters (except that of ſufficient vouchers) of ancient authentick hiſtories, in which they are dreſſed up, and of the air of aſſurance with which they are preſented by *Boece* and *Buchanan*.

But, at the ſame time, I hope that the learned among my countrymen will eaſily obſerve, that the freedom that I have taken to lay open the uncertainty of thoſe remote antiquities, as they are delivered by our modern writers, doth in no manner derogate from the real honour of our country;

country: for, beſides that, there can be no real honour, but what is grounded upon truth; what hath been ſaid in the firſt book of this eſſay, particularly of the deſcent of the preſent Inhabitants of *Scotland*, from the moſt ancient, or firſt known inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*; to wit, partly from the *Mæats*, or *Midland Britains*, partly from the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, as well as from the *Scots*; and of the antiquity of the monarchy of *Albany*, and number of kings in the *Pictiſh* line, doth abundantly compenſate the loſs of the firſt forty kings; as the honour of the pretended martial atchievements, attributed by *Fordun*, *Bocce*, &c. to the *Scots*, under the reigns of *Julius Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*, and the following firſt *Roman* emperors, without any authority, is fully counterballanced by the noble oppoſition that the *Romans* met with from the *Caledonians*, and their maintaining their ancient poſſeſſions to the north of the *Friths*, and their liberty, during ſo many ages, againſt all the *Roman* forces in *Britain*, whilſt all the other inhabitants were brought under the *Roman* yoke. And all this ſupported by the teſtimony of the beſt contemporary *Roman* writers.

To conclude now this eſſay; I hope the reader will have met with in it as diſtinct an account, as the few remains we have of theſe firſt times do furniſh us, of the ſeveral ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain* (ſo well known theſe

many ages by the name of *Scotland)* to wit of the *Romans*, *Britains*, *Caledonians* or *Picts*, *Scots*, &c. I have endeavour'd to trace each of theſe people down, from the firſt appearance they make in theſe parts of *Britain*, till they diſappeared under their proper names, either by retiring elſewhere, or by being, by degrees, incorporated into one body of people, and under one government, with the *Scots*, become to be the ruling people, they came all, at laſt, to be known by the common name of *Scots*.

THE view I have given of the ſituation of theſe ſeveral ancient inhabitants, eſpecially in the earlieſt times of chriſtianity in thoſe northern parts, will appear with more advantage in the ſecond or chronological part of this eſſay, if I live to continue it, and will help to diſcover to the reader the occaſions of the firſt entry of the light of the goſpel, and of the progreſs that the doctrine and diſcipline of the chriſtian church made among theſe northern nations. All theſe diſpenſations of the mercies of God having often, in the common courſe, a certain connexion with the civil ſtate and circumſtances of a people on whom it pleaſes God to beſtow them, according to his infinitely wiſe providence.

APPEN-

APPENDIX
OF
ANCIENT PIECES.

HAVING already given an account of the ſeveral pieces contained in this APPENDIX, and there being before each of them a reference to the page of this eſſay, where they are deſcribed, it would be unneceſſary to ſay any thing further here.

BUT the names of the firſt forty-two kings of the *Scots*, from *Fergus* till *Malcolm Keanmore*, which frequently occur in theſe pieces, being all of them originally *Gælick*, or *Iriſh*; from thence it hath happened, that moſt of our writers, being *Lowlanders*, ignorant of that ancient language, there hath enſued ſo great a variety in the pronouncing, ſpelling, and writing thoſe old names in the different writers, MS. or printed; and our modern hiſtorians have at length ſo altered ſome of them, that they appear quite different names; and no more like to thoſe which we meet with in the ancient chronicles or catalogues of our kings: ſo that without ſome knowledge of the more ancient forms of writing theſe names, it is not poſſible

to

to underſtand ſome important paſſages concerning *Scotiſh* matters, that occur in ancient pieces.

WHO could, for example, by conſulting only the names of our kings, ſuch as our modern writers repreſent them, underſtand by which of our kings theſe ancient laws and ſtatutes were at firſt made, which according to the ſecond piece in the appendix, *n.* 2. are ſaid to have been renewed by king *Donald Mac-Alpin*, in an aſſembly of the *Scots* at *Forteviot ? In hujus* [Domnalli R.] *tempore jura ac leges Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli* [i. e. Scoti] *cum rege ſuo in Fothuir-tabaicht ?* For in the modern catalogues of our kings, ſuch as thoſe of *Fordun*, *Bocce* and *Buchanan*, we find no ſuch names; whereas in ancient chronicles or catalogues, we meet with *Eda* or *Edus*, whoſe ſurname was *Fion*, i. e. *White*, the eighteenth king of the *Scots*; called by the moderns, in one word, *Etfinus*, who was ſon to *Eochoid Rinnecal*, called otherwiſe *Echdach* or *Echadach*, the thirteenth king, whom our moderns miſcall *Eugenius quintus*: ſo of theſe ancient laws made about the beginning of the eighth age, we ſhould know nothing, by conſulting our modern writers, tho' they muſt have been very famous in ancient times, ſince they are taken notice of by this *Iriſh* writer (for ſuch I take him to have been, till I can meet with farther light concerning him.)

HOR

FOR theſe, and ſuch like reaſons, eſpecially to help to underſtand any other ancient pieces of our hiſtory that may yet be diſcovered, at home or abroad, I conceived it would be an uſeful curioſity to give here, by way of introduction to this *Appendix of Ancient Pieces*, a catalogue of theſe firſt forty-two kings, according to the order of their ſucceſſion, as I find it uniformly ſet down in all the more ancient chronicles or catalogues of them, taken from our genuine annals, together with all the various forms in which I have obſerved theſe names written in ancient or modern authors; and, in the firſt place, thoſe names, as they are originally written in *Gælick*, upon which all the reſt, by different pronunciations, corrupt reading, ignorance of the language, *&c.* have been formed or derived from them. In the laſt place, I ſhall ſet down the names given to theſe kings by our modern hiſtorians.

MEAN time, the reader may find, *p.* 131, *ſupra*, where I have treated of the names of the *Pictiſh* kings, ſome remarks upon the occaſion of theſe alterations in ancient names, to which I refer. I ſhall only here obſerve, that the letter C in *Gælick* or *Iriſh*, is always pronounced K; and the letters B H and M H, are pronounced V; and G H W: that in the notes on the pieces of the appendix, theſe abbreviations F, ſignifies *forte* or *fortaſſe*; and L, *Lege*,

THE

The letters [a b c], *&c. placed over the various names in the following catalogue of the firſt forty-two kings of the* Scots, *mark the chronicles or writers whence they are taken, according to this Index.*

a Appendix, num. 3.
b Appendix, num. 4.
c Genealogia in Append. n. 4.
d Append. n. 5.
e Append. n. 6.
f Winton's Chronicle.
g Fordun's Chronicle.
h The two Genealogies in Fordun.
i Boece.
k Buchanan.

Cata-

Catalogue or Series of the names of the first forty-two kings of the Scots, *according to the true order of their ſucceſſion with the various forms of their names, as they are found in ancient and modern writers.*

1 FEARGUS fil. Erc, Erch [d], Eric [b], Erth [f].

2 Domangard, Domhangard [b], Dovenghart [d], Donegart [e], Dongard [g], *or* Dongardus [k].

3 Comgall, Congal, Congel [b], Congallus [k].

4 Gabran [c], Gabhran, Gauran [d], Gouren [e], Goveran [b], Gonranus [k], Conranus [i].

5 Conall, Convallus [g].

6 Aodan, Aidan, Edan [b], Edain [h], Edhan [d], Aidanus [g].

7 Eochoid-buidhe, Eochod-flavus [b], Heoghed-bude [d], Eoghed-bod [e], Hecged-bud [f], Echac-buidhe, Ochabind [h], Eugenius IV. [g k].

8 Connadh-cearr, Kinat-kerr [d], Kinat-ſiniſter [b], Keneth-ker [i].

9 Fearchair [d], Fercar [b], Ferquarth [e], Ferquardus [k].

10 Domnall-breac, Domhnal-breac, Dovenald-varius [b], Downald-brec [f], Donaldus IV.

11 Malduin, Maldowny [f], Malduinus [i].

12 Fear-

12 Fearcair-fada, Fergar-longus [b], Ferchar-foda [d], Ferquardus [k].

13 Eochoidh-rinnemhail, Eochol-habens-curvum-naſum [b], Heoghed [d] Rinavel-Echdac-Echadach [a h], Eoghed [e], Hecged-ronaval [f], Eugenius V [g k].

14 Ainbceallach, Armchallach [e], Arinchellac [b], Armkellech [d], Amrikelleth [g], Ambirkeletus [k].

15 Eogan [e], Eoghan, Ewan, Ewen [b], Heatgan [d], Eugenius VI. [g k]

16 Muireadach, Murdauch [e], Murechat [b], Murdochus, Murthec [f], Murdahu, Mordacus [i], Murdacus [g k].

17 Eogan [e], Heoghan [d], Ewan [f], Ewen [b], Eugenius VII.

18 Aodh-fionn, Ed-albus [b], Heth-fin [d], Hedwhite [f], Eda[a]-find[c]-Ethafind[h], Etfinus [k].

19 Feargus, Fergus.

20 Sealbhach, Selvach, Selvac [b], Sealuanc [e], Sealuhanc [d], Sewald [f], Selwathius [g], Solwathius [k].

21 Eochoidh-anguibh, Eochal--annuine, Eochal-venenoſus [b], Heoghed-annuine [d], Eogad-annuin [e], Echach, Ethacus [h], Eokal [f], Achajus [g].

22 Dunghal, Dunegal [b], Doughal [f], Dungallus [k].

23 Ailpin, Alpin.

24 Cionaodh, Cinacha [e], Kinadius [a], Kenaucht, Kinedus [b], Kinath [d], Kenethus [g].

25 Domhnal, Dunevaldus [a], Domnail [c], Dolfnal [b], Dovenald [d].

26 Conſtaintin.

27 Aodh, Ed [d], Edus [a], Het [b], Eth, Ethus [k].

28 Gai-

28 Gairig, Girg [d], Giric [a], Greg [b], Gregorius [g].
29 Domhnal, Dovenald, Doneval [b], Donevaldus [z], Donaldus [k].
30 Conſtaintin.
31 Maelcoluim, Maelcolai [c], Malcolm [b], Milcolumbus [k].
32 Iondolbh, Indolf [b], Induff [d], Indulfus [k].
33 Dubhoda, Duf [b], Niger [a], Duffus [k].
34 Cuilin, Culin [b], Culenrig [a], Culenus [k].
35 Cionadh, Cinadius [a], Cinada [c], Kinadius, Kinet [b], Kenethus [k].
36 Conſtaintin.
37 Grim-Macdubh, Chinet [b], Girgh [d]-mac-Kinath. Greg, Grimus [g].
38 Malcolium Milcolumbus.
39 Donnchadh, Donchath [a], Dunecan, Donuchada [c], Duncanus [i].
40 Macbeatha, Machetad, Macbethad, Macbeth [b], Machabæus [i].
41 Lulach [b], Lahoulan [e], Luthlath [i].
42 Malcoluim, Malcolm [i]-cean-more, Malcolm [b] Kenremore [e], Milcolumbus [k].

NUM. I.

DE SITU ALBANIÆ QUÆ IN SE FIGURAM HOMINIS HABET: QUOMODO FUIT PRIMITUS IN SEPTEM REGIONIBUS (*ſic*) DIVISA, QUIBUSQUE NOMINIBUS ANTIQUITUS SIT VOCATA, ET A QUIBUS INHABITATA. *Vide ſupra, p.* 601.

Ex MS. Bibliothecæ Colbertinæ, Cod. 3120.

1. OPERÆ pretium puto mandare memoriæ qualiter Albania, & à quibus habitatoribus primitus habitata, quibus nominibus nuncupata & in quot partibus partita.

2. LEGIMUS in hiſtoriis & in chronicis antiquorum Britonum, & in geſtis & annalibus antiquis (*a*) Scottorum & Pictorum, quod illa regio quæ nunc corruptè vocatur Scotia (*b*), antiquitus appellabatur Albania ab Albanacto juniore filio Bruti primi regis Britannorum majoris Britanniæ. Et poſt multum intervallum temporis a Pictis Pictavia: qui regnaverunt in ea per circulum MLXX. annorum: ſecundum quoſdam MCCCLX. Nunc

(*a*) *Hinc patet extitiſſe annales Scotorum & Pictorum qui antiqui cenſebantur etiam ſæculo* XII.

(*b*) *Ran. Higden Polychr. ex Giraldo, p.* 185.

vero

vero corruptè vocatur Scocia. Scotti (*a*) vero regnaverunt per ſpacium CCCXV annorum; anno illo quo Willelmus rex Rufus, frater Malcolmi viri honeſtæ vitæ & virtutis, regnum ſuſcepit.

3. REGIO enim iſta formam & figuram hominis in ſe habet. Pars namque principalis ejus, id eſt, caput eſt in *Arregathel* in occidentali parte Scociæ ſupra mare Hyberniæ: pedes vero ejus ſunt ſupra mare *Northwagiæ*: montes vero & deſerta de *Arregaithel* capiti & collo hominis aſſimilantur: corpus vero ipſius eſt mons qui *Mound* vocatur, qui a mari occidentali uſque ad mare orientale extenditur: Brachia autem ejus ſunt ipſi montes qui dividunt Scociam ab *Arregaithel*. Latus dexteræ partis ex *Murref*, & *Ros*, & *Mar*, & *Buchan*: crura enim illius ſunt illa duo principalia & præclara flumina (quæ deſcendunt de monte prædicto, i. e. *Mound*) quæ vocantur *Tae* & *Spe*: quorum unum fluit citra montem, alterum vero ultra in mare *Norwegale*. Inter crura hujus hominis ſunt *Enegus* & *Moerne* citra montem, & ultra montem alia terræ inter *Spe* & montem.

4. HÆC vero terra a ſeptem fratribus diviſa fuit antiquitus in ſeptem partes: quarum pars principalis eſt *Enegus* cum *Moerne* ab *Enegus* primogenito fratrum ſic nominata: ſecunda autem pars eſt *Adtheodle* & *Gouerin*: pars etiam tertia eſt *Stra-*

(*a*) *Polychr. ex Giraldo, p.* 185.

deern cum *Meneted:* quarta pars partium eſt *Fife* cum *Fothreue:* quinta vero pars eſt *Marr* cum *Buchen:* ſexta autem eſt *Murref* & *Ros:* ſeptima enim pars eſt *Cathaneſia* citra montem & ultra montem: quia Mons *Mound* dividit Cathaneſiam per medium.

5. QUÆLIBET ergo iſtarum partium regio tunc vocabatur & erat: quia unaquæque earum ſub regionem in ſe habebat. Inde eſt ut hi ſeptem fratres prædicti pro ſeptem regibus habebantur: ſeptem Regulos ſub ſe habentes. Iſti ſeptem fratres regnum Albaniæ in ſeptem regna diviſerunt, & unuſquiſque in tempore ſuo in ſuo regno regnavit (*a*).

6. PRIMUM regnum fuit (ſicut mihi verus relator retulit, Andreas, videlicet, vir venerabilis Katanenſis epiſcopus (*b*) nacione Scottus & Dunfermlis (*c*) Monachus) ab illa aqua optima, quæ Scotticè vocata eſt *Froth*, Britannice *Werid*, Romanè (*d*) vero *Scotte-wattre*, i. aqua Scottorum; quæ (*e*) regna Scottorum & Anglorum dividit & currit juxta oppidum de *Strivelin*, uſque ad flumen aliud nobile, quod vocatum eſt *Tac*.

(*a*) *Cruithne primus Pictorum rex in Albania filios ſeptem habuit reges, juxta Chron. Pictorum infra num.* 2.

(*b*) *Hinc patet autorem hujus libelli non fuiſſe natione Scotum.*

(*c*) *Obiit Andreas Epiſcopus Katanen. A. D.* 1185, *juxta Chron. Maylroſſen.*

(*d*) *I. e. lingua vulgari.*

(*e*) *Hinc apparet autorem hujus libelli fuiſſe Anglum.*

7. SE-

7. SECUNDUM regnum ad *Hilef*, ſicut mare circuit, uſque ad montem aquilonali plaga de *Strivelin* qui vocatur *Athrin.*

TERTIUM regnum ab *Hilef* uſque ad *De.*

QUARTUM regnum ex *De* uſque ad magnum & mirabile flumen quod vocatur *Spe*, majorem (*a*) & meliorem tocius Scociæ.

QUINTUM regnum de *Spe* uſque ad montem *Bruinalban.*

SEXTUM regnum fuit *Muref* & *Ros.*

SEPTIMUM regnum fuit *Arregaithel.*

8. (*b*) *ARREGATHEL* dicitur quaſi margo Scottorum ſeu Hybernenſium: quia omnes Hybernenſes & Scotti generaliter *Gaitheli* dicuntur a quodam eorum primævo duce *Gaithelglas* vocato. Ibi enim ſemper Hybernienſes applicare ſolebant ad dampna facienda Britannis. Vel idcirco quia Scotti (*c*) [*Picti*] ibi habitabant primitus poſt reditum ſuum de Hybernia; vel quia Hibernienſes illas partes occupavere ſuper Pictos; vel quod certius eſt quod illa pars regionis Scottiæ affinitima eſt regioni Hiberniæ.

(*a*) *Sic.*

(*b*) *Vid. Rán. Ceſt. Polyc. p.* 209 *ed. Gal.*

(*c*) *Vox* (Picti) *haud dubium hic redundat errore ſcribæ.*

9. FERGUS filius Eric ipſe fuit primus qui de ſemine Chonare ſuſcepit regnum Albaniæ, 1. A monte Brunalban uſque ad mare Hiberniæ & ad Inchegall. Deinde reges de ſemine Fergus regnaverunt in Brunalban, ſive Brunhere, uſque ad Alpinum filium Eochal: Kined filius hujus Alpini primus Scottorum annis XVI. in Pictinia feliciter regnavit.

NUM. II.

(a) NUM. II.

CHRONICA DE ORIGINE ANTIQUORUM PICTORUM (b).

Ex eodem Cod. MS. Bibl. Colbertin. *V. Supra, p.* 105.

PICTI propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum (c) Stiugmate (*ſic*) annotantur. Scotti qui nunc corruptè vocantur Hiberniences, quaſi Sciti quia a Scithia regione venerunt, & inde originem duxerunt, ſive a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Ægypti, quæ fuit, ut fertur, regina Scot. (*d*).

SCIENDUM eſt quod Britones in tertia mundi ætate ad Britanniam venerunt. Scitæ autem, 1.

(a) *Quod ſpectat ad diſcrepantiam inter hoc vetus chronicon Pictorum & catalogos regum Pictorum (qui habentur apud ſcriptores Scotos) quoad nomina, numerum, chronologiam, &c. Vide quæ diximus, p.* 124, *&c.* 129, *&c. ſupra.*

(b) *Fragmentum hoc ſive excerptum ex chronicis Pictorum hic exhibemus quale extat in Cod MS. nihil addito, dempto aut immutato præter titulos primæ & ſecundæ partis & numerales notas regum, quas majoris claritatis gratia, diverſo charactere, adjecimus.* Vid. Supra, p. 602.

(c) L. Stigmate.

(d) L. Scociæ vel Scotorum.

Scotti in quarta ætate Scociam ſive Hiberniam obtinuerunt. Gentes Scitiæ albo crine naſcuntur ab aſſiduis nivibus: & ipſius capilli color genti nomen dedit; & inde dicuntur Albani: de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti & Picti. Horum glauca oculis, 1. picta ineſt pupilla, adeo ut nocte pluſquam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonibus fuerunt: Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur de ſimilitudine ultimæ ſyllabæ: quos veteres Græci magis Gethas quam Gothos vocaverunt. Gens fortis & potentiſſima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus,

Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethis incurrat Hiberis.

(a) Daciam Gothorum ſoboles fuerunt & dictos putant Dacos quaſi Dagos, quia de Gothorum ſtirpe ſunt: de quibus ille,

Ibis Arcos procul uſque Dacos.

Scithæ & Gothi a Magog originem traxerunt (b). Scithia quoque & Gothia ab eodem Magog Japhet fertur cognominata; cujus terra olim ingens fuit: nam ab oriente in die (c) a ſeptentrione per pa-

(a) L. Daci.
(b) *Iſidor. Hiſpal. p.* 120.
(c) L. Indiæ.

Iudes

ludes Mæotides inter Danubium & oceanum uſque ad Germaniæ fines porrigebatur. Poſtea minor effecta eſt a dextra orientis parte quæ oceanus Sciticus conditur (*ſic*) uſque ad mare Caſpium quod eſt ad occaſum: de hinc a meridie uſque ad Caucaſum jugum deducta eſt, cui ſubjacet Hircania ab occaſu: habens pariter gentes multas propter infœcunditatem latè vagantes: ex quibus quædam agros incolunt, quidam (*ſic*) portentuoſæ ac truces, carnibus humanis & eorum ſanguine vivunt.

SCITHIÆ plures terræ ſunt locupletes, & inhabitabiles etiam plures. Nam quæ in pleriſque locis auro & gemmis affluant, Griphorum immanitate acceſſus hominum rarus eſt. Smaragdis autem optimis hæc patria eſt. Cianeus quoque lapis & chryſtallus puriſſimus Scithiæ eſt (*a*). Habet & flumina magna Oſcorim, Faſidem, & Araxen. Prima Europæ regio Scythiæ inferior quæ a Mæotidis paludibus incipiens inter Danubium & oceanum ſeptentrionalem uſque ad Germaniam porrigitur, quæ terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes quibus inhabitatur, Barbarica dicitur. Hujus pars prima Alania eſt quæ ad Mæotidas paludes pertingit. Poſt hanc Dacia, ubi & Gothia: deinde Germania: ubi plurimam partem Suevi inoluerunt. In partes Aſiaticæ Scithiæ ſunt gentes quæ poſteros ſe Jaſonis credunt (*b*): albo crine noſcuntur ab aſſiduis nivibus. De his iſta ſufficiunt.

(*a*) *Iſidor. p.* 121.
(*b*) *Ibid. p.* 74.

Prima pars Chronici ſive Catalogi Regum Pictorum.

1 CRUIDNE filius Cinge pater Pictorum habitancium in hac inſula c annis regnavit. Septem (*a*) filios habuit. Hæc ſunt nomina eorum: Fib, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortreim, Got, Cecircum, Circui.

2 Circui lx annis regn.

3 Fidaich xl.

4 Forteim lxx.

5 Floclaid xxx.

6 Got xii.

7 Ce xv.

8 Fibaid xxiv.

9 Gedeolgudach lxxx.

10 Denbacan c.

11 Olfinecta lx.

12 Guididgaedbrecach l.

13 Geſtgurtich xl.

14 Wurgeſt xl.

15 Brude-bout, a quo xxx Brude regnaverunt Hyberniam (*b*) & Albaniam per cl. annorum ſpatium, xlviii an. regnavit. Id eſt, Brude-pant, Brude-urpant, Brude-leo, Brude-uleo, Brude-gant, Brude-urgant, Brude-guith,

(*a*) *Vide n.* 5. *de ſitu Albaniæ, ſupra in append. n.* 1. *de diviſione Albaniæ in* vii *partes.*

(*b*) *Hinc apparet Pictorum aliquos in Hyberniam penetraſſe & eandem regnaſſe.*

Brude-

Brude-urguith, Brude-fecir, Brude-urfecir, Brude-cal, Brude-urcal, Brude-cuit, Brude-urcuit, Brade-fec, Brade-urfec, Brade-ru, Brude-eru, Brude-gart, Brude-urgart, Brude-cinit, Brude-urcinit, Brude-inp, Brude-urinp, Brude-grid, Brude-urgrid, Brude-mund, Brude-urmund.

16 Gilgidi ci an. regn.
17 Tharan c.
18 Morleo xv.
19 Deocilunon xl.
20 Cimoiod filius Arcois vii.
21 Deoord l.
22 Bliciblitirth v.
23 Dectoteric frater Diu xl.
24 Uſconbuts xxx.
25 Carvorſt xl.
26 Deoartavois xx.
27 Uiſt l.
28 Ru c.
29 Gartnoithboc, a quo Garnait, iv regn.
30 Vere ix an. regn.
31 Breth filius Buthut vii.
32 Vipoignamet xxx an. regn.
33 Canutulachama iv an. regn.
34 Wradech vechla ii an. regn.
35 Garnaichdi uber lx. an. regn.
36 Tolorę filius Achivir lxxv an. regn.

Secunda

Secunda pars.

37 Druſt filius Erp c (*a*) an. regn. & c bella peregit xix anno regni ejus Patricius epiſcopus ſanctus ad Hyberniam pervenit inſulam.

38 Talore filius Aniel iv an. regn.

39 Necton Morbet filius Erp xxv an. regn. tertio (*b*) anno regni ejus Darlugdach Abbatiſſa Cillæ Darade Hibernia exulat proxime ad Britanniam. Secundo anno adventus ſui immolavit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo & ſanctæ Brigidæ præſente Dairlugtach, quæ cantavit Alleluja ſuper iſtam hoſtiam. Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus filius Urup rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum Apurnethige ſanctæ Brigidæ uſque ad diem judicii cum ſuis finibus quæ poſitæ ſunt *(ſic)* a lapide in Apurſeirt uſque ad lapidem juxta Cairſuil, id eſt, Lechſoſs; & inde in altum uſque ad Athan. Cauſa autem oblationis hæc eſt. Nectonius in (*c*) uite iulie manens, *fratre* ſuo Druſto expulſante ſe uſque ad

(*a*) Regnavit *ſeu* rexit *hic ponitur pro* vixit: *nam liber Paſtalenſis tribuit illi tantum* 48 *annos regni. Vide ſupra, p.* 574.

(*b*) *Prolixior hæc narratio fundationis celebris eccleſiæ de Abirnethy innuere videtur. Chronicon hoc breve extractum fuiſſe ex vetuſto aliquo chronico ab alumnis eccleſiæ illius veteris de Abirnethy olim ſcripto.*

(*c*) F. in exilio manens, *fratre.*

Hiberniam, Brigidam ſanctam petivit, ut (*a*) poſtulaſſet Deum pro ſe. Orans autem pro illo, dixit (*b*). Si pervenies ad patriam tuam, Dominus miſerebitur tui, regnum Pictorum in pace poſſidebis (*c*).

40 Dreſt Gurthinmoch xxx an. regn.
41 Galanau Etelich xii an. regn.
42 Dadreſt i.
43 Dreſt filius Gyrom i. Dreſt filius Udroſt v. an. conregnaverant. Dreſt filius Gyrom ſolus v an. regn.
44 Gartnach filius Gyrom vii an. regn.
45 Cealtraim filius Gyrom i an. regn.
46 Talorg filius Muircholaich xi an. regn.
47 Dreſt filius Munait i an. regn.
48 Galam cum Aleph i an. regn.
cum Briduo i an.
49 Brides (*d*) filius Mailcom xxx an. regn. In

(*a*) L. poſtularet ſive oraret.

(*b*) *Id eſt*, certe pervenies.

(*c*) *Ex Colgano de vitis SS. Hiberniæ patet Darlugdacham (de qua hæc fit mentio) fuiſſe diſcipulam S. Brigidæ. Cæterum de antiqua hac eccleſia de Abirnethy hæc habentur in libro Paſlet. deſumpta, ut videtur ex chronico de Abirnethy.* In illa eccleſia [*de Abirnethy*] fuerunt tres electiones factæ, quando non fuit niſi unus ſolus epiſcopus in Scocia. Tunc enim fuit ille locus principalis regalis & pontificalis per aliqua tempora tocius regni Pictorum.

(*d*) *Hic ille eſt Brudeus rex, de quo Beda, lib. 3. cap. 4. De varietate ſeu diſcrepantia quæ reperitur in pronunciandis ſeu ſcribendis vetuſtis regum Pictorum & Scotorum nominibus.* Vide quæ dicta ſunt ſupra, p. 129, &c.

viii (*a*) an. regni ejus baptizatus eſt a S. Columba.

50 Gartnaich filius Domelch xi an. regn.
51 Nectu nepos Verb xx an. regn.
52 Cineoch filius Luthrin xi an. regn.
53 Garnard filius Wid. iv an. regn.
54 Bridei filius Wid. v an. regn.
55 Talore frater eorum xii an. regn.
56 Talorcon filius Enfret iv an. regn.
57 Gartnait filius Donnell. vi an. regn. & dimid.
58 Dreſt frater ejus vii an. regn.
59 Bredei filius Bili (*b*) xxi an. regn.
60 Taran filius Entifidich iv an. regn.
61 Bredei filius Dereli xi an. regn.
62 Nechton filius Dereli (*c*) xv an. regn.
63 Dreſt & Alpin conregnaverunt v an.
64 Onnuſt (*d*) filius Urguſt xxx an. regn.
65 Bredei filius Wirguſt ii an. regn.
66 Ciniod (*e*) filius Wirdech xii an. regn.
67 Elpin filius Wroid iii an. & dimid.
68 Dreſt filius Talorgan iv vel v an. regn.
69 Talorgan filius Onnuſt ii an. cum dimidio.
70 Canaul filius Tarla v an. regn (*f*).

(*a*) *Deeſſe hic videtur literula ſeu num.* I. *ut fiat* viiii. *errore ſcribæ.*

(*b*) *De hoc rege.* V. ſupra, p. 111.

(*c*) V. p. 112, ſupra.

(*d*) V. p. 113, ſupra.

(*e*) V. p. 114, ſupra.

(*f*) *Hi ſunt ſeptuaginta illi reges Pictorum uſque ad Conſtantinum, de quibus* ſupra, p. 102, &c.

71 Caſtantin

71 Caſtantin (a) fil. Wrguiſt xxx an. regn.
72 Unnuſt fil. Wrguiſt xii an. regn.
73 Dreſt fil. Conſtantin & Talorgan fil. Wthoil iii an. conregnaverunt.
74 Uuen filius Unnuſt iii an. regn.
75 Wred fil. Bargoit iii an.
76 Bred uno anno regn.

(a) L. Conſtantin.

NUM. III.

NUM. III.

Excerpta ex veteri Chronico de regibus Scotorum a Kenetho Mac-Alpin ad Mac-Malcolm.

Ex MS. Codice Colbertino. *V. ſupra, p.* 603.

1. KINADIUS igitur filius Alpin primus Scottorum rexit feliciter iſtam annis XVI Pictaviam. Pictavia autem a Pictis eſt nominata, quos, ut diximus Kinadius, delevit. Deus (*a*) enim eos pro merito ſuæ malitiæ alienos ac otioſos hæreditate dignatus eſt facere: quia illi non ſolum Deum, miſſam ac præceptum ſpreverunt, ſed & in

(*a*) *Ad ea quæ hic habentur de declinante apud Pictos religionis zelo, tanquam præcipua excidii cauſa monarchiæ, ſpectant etiam videntur quæ de oppreſſa a Pictis libertate eccleſiaſtica, continet epitaphium Gregorii regis ad calcem chronici Maylroſſen & quæ de eodem rege habentur in Cod. MS. Bibl. Coton.* [Vitellius A. 24.] *& iiſdem verbis in extract. regiſtri S. Andreæ infra* n. 5. *Append. in* reg. 28. *his verbis. Hic* [Gregorius R.] *primus dedit libertatem eccleſiæ Scoticanæ, quæ ſub ſervitute erat uſque ad illud tempus ex conſuetudine Pictorum. Hi tamen abuſus videntur invaluiſſe apud Pictos ſub poſtremis duntaxat regibus, nam celebris erat pietas & devotio erga eccleſiam, regum Conſtantini & Hungi qui regnaverunt apud Pictos ineunte hoc ſæculo nono, vel labente octavo.*

jure

jure æquitatis aliis *æqui pariter* (*a*) noluerunt. Iſti (*b*) vero biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam Dalrietæ regnum ſuſcepit. Septimo anno (*c*) regni reliquias S. Columbæ tranſportavit ad eccleſiam quam conſtruxit: & invaſit ſexies Saxoniam (*d*) & concremavit Dunbarre atque Malros uſurpata (*ſic*); Britanni autem concremaverunt Dulblaan, atque Danari vaſtaverunt Pictaviam ad *Duanan* (*ſic*) & Duncalden. Mortuus eſt tandem tumore *an.* (*e*) id. Febr. feria tertia in palacio (*f*) Forthuir-tabaicht.

2. DUNEVALDUS frater ejus tenuit idem regnum quatuor annis. In hujus tempora jura ac leges regni Edi (*g*) filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli (*h*) cum rege ſuo in Fothur-thabaicht: obiit in palacio cum (*i*) Belachoir, id. April.

(*a*) F. æqui parari voluerunt.

(*b*) L. iſte.

(*c*) *Servabantur ergo hactenus reliquiæ S. Columbæ in Scotia, ſecus ac narrant Hyberni aliqui ſcriptores.*

(*d*) V. *Ranulf. Higd. Polychron. p.* 210. *ubi ait.* [Kenethus] Sexies Saxoniam debellavit, &c.

(*e*) F. tumore ani.

(*f*) i. e. Forteviot. *Regia Pictorum, deinde Scotorum.*

(*g*) *Id eſt, Regis Ædi-albi ſive Æth-ſin filii Eochah ſive Ecdach-rinneval qui regnare cœpit circa A. D.* 730. *De hiſce vero juribus & regni legibus altiſſimum apud ſcriptores noſtros ſilentium. Extitiſſe autem aliquando & celeberrima fuiſſe cum a vicino hoc Hyberniæ ſcriptore memorentur, haud dubitari poteſt. Perierunt tamen cum reliquis antiquis regni monumentis.*

(*b*) i. e. Scoti.

(*i*) F. ſuo Belachor. *de quo fit mentio apud ſcriptorem vitæ S. Cadroes Scoti.*

2. CON-

3. CONSTANTINUS fil. Kinadi regnavit annis XVI. Primo ejus anno (*a*) Mael Sechnaill rex Hybernenſium obiit & Aed (*b*) fil. Niel tenuit regnum: & poſt duos annos vaſtavit (*c*) Amlaib cum gentibus ſuis Pictaviam & habitantes eam a kal. Januar. uſque ad feſtum S. Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib trahens cetum (*d*) (*ſic*) a Conſtantino occiſus eſt paulo poſt ab eo bello in XIV ejus facto in Dolair inter Danarios & Scottos: occiſi Scotti in Coach-cochlum (*ſic*): Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.

4. EDUS tenuit idem uno anno. Ejus autem brevitas nil hiſtoriæ memoriæ commendavit: ſed in civitate nrurin (*e*) eſt occiſus.

5. (*f*) EOCHODIUS autem filius Ku (*ſic*) regis Britannorum nepos Kinadi ac fil. regn. an XI. Licet

(*a*) Mael-ſeacluin rex Hyberniæ, *Obiit A. D.* 863. *ſucceſſit ei.*

(*b*) Aodh-finliath fil. Niel.

(*c*) *Hic eſt ille Anlaphus Danus de quo in ſcriptoribus Scotiæ, Angliæ & Hyberniæ.*

(*d*) F. cœtum, i. e. exercitum.

(*e*) F. Inruri.

(*f*) *Quæ hic habentur de ſucceſſore regis Edi ſive Æthi hiſtoria admodum ſunt & apud Scotos omnino inaudita: nuſquam enim mentio hujus Eochodii: & tam vetuſtorum excerpta annalium noſtrorum, quam catalogi veteres & omnes noſtri ſcriptores unanimi ſententia referunt Gregorum immediatè Æthonis ſucceſſiſſe*

Licet *Giricium* (*a*) fil. alii dicunt hic regnaſſe eo quod alumnus, ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat. Cujus ſecundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur, ac in nono anno ipſo die cirici eclipſis ſolis facta eſt. Eochodius cum alumno ſuo expulſus eſt nunc de regno.

6. DONEVALDUS fil. Conſtantini tenuit regnum XI annis. Normanni tunc (*b*) vaſtaverun Pictaviam in hujus regno bellum fuit (*c*) *inuifib collan* (*ſic*) inter Danarios & Scottos. Scotti habuerunt victoriam opidum (*d*) Fother occiſum eſt a gentibus (*ſic*).

7. CONSTANTINUS fil. Edii tenuit regnum XL annis: cujus tertio anno Normanni prædaverunt Duncalden omnemque Albaniam: in ſequenti utique anno Conſtantinus rex & (*e*) Kellachus epiſcopus leges, diſciplinaſque fidei, atque jura eccleſiarum, evangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis in

& celebrem fuiſſe ob victorias reportatas in Anglia, ſed præcipuè in Hybernia. An hanc ob cauſam ſcriptor hic rebus a Gregorio præclarè geſtis, obſcura hac & incondita narratione, detrahere voluerit, alii judicent. Videatur interea epitaphium ipſius ad calcem chronici Maylroſſenſis cum reliquis regum epitaphiis, editum, & quæ de eo narrantur in excerptis ex regiſtro S. Andreæ infra num. 5.

(*a*) F. Giric. Girgh. i. e. Grigor.

(*b*) t. MS.

(*c*) F in urbe Cullen.

(*d*) L. Forres occiſus eſt.

(*e*) Kellach Epiſcopus S. Andreæ. *Vide quæ diximus ſupra, p. 588, de concilio Scotico ſub hoc rege Conſtantino & Kellacho epiſcopo.*

colle credulitatis prope regali civitate Scoan devoverunt (*a*) cuſtoditur. Ab hoc die collis hoc (nomen) meruit, i. e. collis credulitatis. Et in ſuo VIII anno cecidit excelſiſſimus rex Hybernenſium & archiepiſcopus apud Lagnechois, 1. Cormac (*b*) filius Culenan: & mortui ſunt in tempore hujus Dovenaldus rex Britannorum & Dovenaldus filius Ede rex (*c*) elig. & Flanni filius Mael Sethnail & Nail (*d*) fil. Ede qui regnavit 3 annos poſt Flann. &c. Bellum Tinemore factum eſt in xviii anno inter Conſtantinum & Regnall & Scotti habuerunt victoriam: & bellum (*e*) Dumbrunde in xxxiv ejus anno; ubi cecidit filius Conſtantini; & poſt unum annum mortuus eſt Dubican fil. Indrechtaig Mormair Oenguſa. Adelſtan fil. (*f*) Aduarrig. Saxan & Eochod fil. Alpin mortui ſunt. Et in ſenectute decrepita baculum cepit [R. Conſtantin] & domino ſervivit, & regnum mandavit Mael filio Donmail.

8. MALCOLM fil. Domnail xi. an. regn. Cum exercitu ſuo Maelcolam perexit in Moreb (*g*) & occidit Celach. in vii anno regni ſui prædavit Anglos ad amnem Theſis & multitudinem rapuit ho-

(*a*) L. cuſtodiri.
(*b*) *Auctor Pſaltorii Caſſilienſis habetur Cormacus iſte.*
(*c*) F. eligitur.
(*d*) *Lege* Nial, vel Niell. R. Hyb.
(*e*) *alias* Bruneburg, Brunford & Brunynfeld.
(*f*) L. Edward, vel Eadward.
(*g*) L. Moravia.

minum, & multa armenta pecorum quam prædam vocaverunt Scotti prædam Albudorum (*sic*) i. e. Nauidisi. Alii autem dicunt Constantinum fecisse hanc prædam quærens a rege, 1. Maelcolam regnum dari sibi ad tempus hebdomadis ut visitaret Anglos. (*a*) Un tn non Maelcolam fecit hanc prædam; sed instigavit cum Constantinus, ut dixi. Mortuus autem Constantinus in X. anno ejus sub corona pœnitenti in senectute bona. Et occiderunt viri na Moerne Malcolaim in Fodresach. 1. in Claideom (*sic*).

9. INDULFUS tenuit regnum octo annis. In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum est ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem (*b*). Clasfi (*c*) Sumerlidiorum occisi sunt in Buchan.

10. (*d*) Niger fil. Maelcolam regn. quinque annis. (*e*) Fothach episcopus pausavit: inter (*f*) iger caniculum (*g*) sr (*h*) dorsum crup (*sic*) in quo niger habuit victoriam, ubi cecidit Duchad Abbas Dulcalden, & Dubdou Satrapas Athochlach Expulsus niger de regno & tenuit caniculus brevi tempore. Domnall fil. Canill mortuus est.

(*a*) L. verumtamen.
(*b*) Vide pag. 604, supra.
(*c*) F. Danorum.
(*d*) i. e. Duff, sive Duffus R.
(*e*) Fothach Episcopus S. Andreæ.
(*f*) L. Nigerum, i. e. Duffus.
(*g*) F. Culen.
(*h*) L. super.

11. CULEN-RIG quinque annis regn. Marcan fil. Breodalaig occiſus eſt in eccleſia S. Michaelis. Leot & Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam. Maelbrigd (*a*) epiſcopus pauſavit. Cellach (*b*) fil. Ferdulaig (*c*) regnavit. Maelbridge fil. Dubican obiit. Culen & frater ejus Eochodius occiſi ſunt a Britonibus.

12 CINADIUS fil. Maelcolami regn. an. Statim prædavit Britanniam ex parte pedeſtres Cinadi occiſi ſunt maxima cæde in moni uacornax (*ſic*) & ad Staugna (*d*) de rain. Cinadius autem vallavit ripas vadorum Forthin. Primo anno perexit Cinadius & prædavit Saxoniam & traduxit filium regis Saxonum. Hic eſt qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne domino.

(*a*) Epiſcopus S. Andreæ, dictus & Maliſiur.
(*b*) Epiſcopus S. Andreæ ſucceſſor Miliſii ſive Malbrigid.
(*c*) i. e. rexit ſeu gubernavit.
(*d*) L. Stagna.

NUM.

NUM. IV.

CRONICA REGUM SCOTTORUM CCCXIV. ANNORUM.

Ex cod. MS. Colbertino. *Vide p. 605, supra.*

1 FERGUS filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine Chonare susceptit regnum Albaniæ i. e. a monte Drumalban usque ad mare Hiberniæ & ad Inche-Gall. Iste regnavit iii annis.
2 Domangart fil. ejus v an.
3 Congel fil. Domangrat xxxii (*a*).
4 Goueran frater Congel xxii. an.
5 Conal fil. Congel xiv an.
6 Edan fil. Goueran xxxiv an.
7 Eeohod flavus (*b*) fil. Edan xvi an.
8 Kinat Sinister (*c*) fil. Conal tribus mensibus.
9 Ferear fil. Eu (*d*) xvi an.
10 Dovenald varius (*e*) fil. Ecohid xiv an.
11 (*f*).

(*a*) *In plerisque aliis catalogis* 22 *aut* 24. *anni tribuuntur regno Congalli, cui hic dantur* 33. *errore, ut videtur, scribæ.*

(*b*) *Hic vocatur lingua montana sive Gælica* Eocha-buydhe, i. e. *Eocha-flavus.*

(*c*) *Hic patrio sermone vocatur* Connadh-cearr, *i. e.* Sinister.

(*d*) F. Ewen *ut in Catal. S. Andr.*

(*e*) *Lingua propria vocatur* Domnal Breach, *i. e.* varius.

(*f*) *Hic deest nomen Malduini Regis* XI. *oscitantia scribæ.*

12 Fergar longus (*a*) xxi.
13 Eochol habens (*b*) curvum naſum filius Dongarth filii Dovenal varii, tribus an.
14 Arinchellac (*c*) fil. Ferchar longi uno anno.
15 Ewen (*d*) fil. Ferchar longi xiii an.
16 Murechat (*e*) fil. Arinchellac tribus annis.
17 Ewen fil. Murcerdach tribus an.
18 Edalbus (*f*) fil. Eochal curvi naſi xxx.
19 Fergus fil. Edalbi tribus.
20 Selvac fil. Eogan xxiv.
21 Eochal (*g*) venenoſus fil. Edalbi xxx.
22 Dunegal fil. Selvach vii.
23 Alpin fil. Eochal venenoſi tribus.
24 Kinedus fil. Alpini primus rex Scottorum xvi.
25 Dolfinal (*h*) fil. Alpini iv.
26 Conſtantinus fil. Kinet xx.
27 Het fil. Kinet uno an.
28 Grig. fil. Dungal xii.
29 Doneval fil. Conſtantin. xi.
30 Conſtantin. fil. Hed xxv.
31 Malcolm fil. Doneval ix.
32 Indolf fil. Conſtantin. ix.

(*a*) *Lingua propria* Ferchar-ſada, *i. e.* longus.
(*b*) *Lingua veteri propria* Eochoid-rinneval.
(*c*) *Alias* Armkelleth.
(*d*) Eogan & Heatgan.
(*e*) *Alias* Murdoch.
(*f*) *Alias* Eth-*fin*, *i. e.* Eth-albus.
(*g*) Eochal *alias* Eoka, Eokal, Achajus *nominatur*. *V. nomina regum ſupra.*
(*h*) Dofnal ſive Dovenald.

33 Duf

33 Duf fil. Malcolm iv an. & vi menſ.
34 Culen fil. Indulf iv an. & vi menſ.
35 Kinet fil. Malcolm xxii an. & ii menſ.
36 Conſtantin. fil. Culen uno an. & iv menſ.
37 Chinet fil. Duf uno an. & dimid.
38 Malcolm fil. Kinet xxx. Hic magnum bellum fecit apud Carrum. Ipſe etiam multas oblationes tam eccleſiis quam clero ea die diſtribuit.
39 (*a*).
40 Macbeth fil. Findleg xvii an.
41 Lulach nepos filii Boide iv menſ. & dimid.
42 Malcolm fil. Duncan xxxvii an. & dimid. & iv mens.

HIC fuit vir Margaritæ reginæ: filiæ nobiliſſimæ Mathildis & Maria, ſui generis celſitudinem conjugio, morum ingenuitate, ſcientiæ magnitudine, rerum temporalium larga in pauperes diſpenſatione decenter ornaverunt.

MATHILDIS enim matrimonio juncta fuit Henrico Anglorum regi ſtrenuoſiſſimo, qui de Francorum excellenti regum proſapia duxit originem: quorum ſullimitas (*b*) prædicti, ſcilicet, regis & reginæ ad hoc uſque perducta eſt ut ipſorum ſobole Romani imperii tenuerunt dignitatem. Eo-

(*a*) *Prætermiſſum eſt errore ſcribæ nomen* Duncani regis filii Beatricis filiæ Malcolmi-mac Kineth. 39

(*b*) L. Sublimitas.

rum namque filia M. Prudencia, forma, divitiis digna imperio, imperatori nupſit Romano.

MARIA vero lege conjugii Euſtachio comiti Bolonienſi tradita; regina ſorore non minor extitit probitate, licet reginæ caruerit poteſtate. Hujus itidem filia ſtrenuum virum comitem Stephanum ſponſum accepit de regali ſimul & conſulari ſtirpe progenitam. Omitto filias adhuc viventes matres defunctas exemplo propono viventibus, quæ cum ſæculi pompa quod raro invenitur, divites ſanctis extitere virtutibus, pauperes utriuſque ſexûs, cujuſque condicionis eſſent, ac ſi membra coluerunt Chriſti; religioſos clericos, monachos, ſincero amore velud (*ſic*) patronos, & ſuos futuros judices cum Chriſto dilexerunt.

MATHILDIS regina Kal. Maij migravit de hac vita. A° ab Incarnatione Domini M.C.XVIII. ſepultaque eſt honorificè in eccleſia B. Petri Apoſtolorum principis Weſtmonaſterii juxta Londoniam Anglorum urbem nobiliſſimam.

MARIA autem comitiſſa 2°. Kal. Junii Anno ab Incarnatione M.C.XVI. apud Bermundſeiam, ex altera parte præfatæ urbis monaſterio S. Salvatoris in pace quievit; ubi a Domino Petrei admirandæ ſanctitatis viro tunc priore ejuſdem loci (*a*) Duniacenſis ſcilicet ad charitatem ſpeciali-

(*a*) L. Cluniacenſis.

ter

tem pertinentis, gloriosè ſepulta eſt. Tumulus vero marmoreus regum & reginarum ymagines habens impreſſas genus quieſcentis demonſtrat. In ſuperficiem ejuſd. tumuli titulus aureis literis ſculptus nomen & vitam & originem breviter ita comprehendit.

Nobilis hic tumulata jacet comitiſſa Maria
Actibus hæc nituit, larga, benigna fuit.
Regum ſanguis erat, morum probitate vigebat.
Compatiens inopi, vivat in arce poli.

EDMUNDUS vero frater earum vir ſtrenuiſſimus, & in Dei ſervicio, dum vitam ageret præſentem, valde devotus apud montem Acuti in quadam videlicet cella, quæ ibi ſita (eſt), requieſcit humatus.

43 Dolfinal (*a*) frater ejus (Malcolmi R.) regnavit an. tribus & vii menſibus.
44 Dunchad fil. Malcolmi dimid. anni.
45 Edgarus fil. Malcolmi ix an.
46 Alexander frater ejus xvii an. & 3 menſ.
47 David frater ejus xxx. Erat autem rex David vir piiſſimus in religione catholicus, in principes munificus, in (*b*) recuperandis baſilicis ſtudioſus, ſatis vigil, & orationibus in tantum ſtudens ut plus ſupplicationibus ad

(*a*) L. Dofnal ſive Dovenald.
(*b*) F. reparandis.

Deum

Deum profuſis quam armis bellicis victoriam de inimicis optineret.

REX vero piiſſimus David multa bona fecit, præcipuè tamen ædes ſacras ubicunque in totó regno uectate (*a*) collapſas conſcrat (*b*): pontificibus & patribus, ad quorum curam pertinebant, ut reſtaurarentur imperavit: adhibens curam per legatos ut imperata perficerentur. Unde ſub ejus imperio multa ſunt reparata, immò funditûs ædificata monaſteria. Sed hᵉ (*c*) præcipuè monaſterium puellare, & M. Puellare S. N. & multa alia puellaria & cætera plurima utriuſque videlicet ſexûs virorum & mulierum, quibus veluti quibuſdam lychnis totum decoratur Scociæ regnum: quæ omnia piiſſimus David rex magnis auri & argenti ponderibus, gemmarumque pretioſarum muneribus, ampliſſimis etiam honoribus (*d*) dicau; & inſuper, quod precioſius eſt, ſanctiſſimis reliquiarum patrociniis inſignivit.

HAS omnes idem rex potens & piiſſimus honorabiliter multis excolebat muneribus: ſed Melroſſenſem præcipuè inter omnes eccleſias & fideliter defenſabat & dulciter diligebat, & ſuis opibus exornabat. Cæterum omnia ejus geſta quæ vulgo narrantur,

(*a*) F. vetuſtate.
(*b*) L. conſtruxerat.
(*c*) Hocce.
(*d*) F. ditavit vel dicavit.

narrantur, non ſunt hic propter vitandum faſtidium legentis pleniter explanata.

48 Malcolm filius (*a*) filii David xii an. vi menſ. & xiii diebus.
49 Willelmus frater ejus.

Ab anno (*b*) 1°. Willielmi, regum Scottorum anni cccxv (*c*).

Willelmus rex Rufus filius Henrici, filii Malcolai filii Donuchada, qui fuit nepos Malcolai, f. Cinada, f. Maelcolai, f. Domnail, f. Conſtantin, f. (*d*) Ernacha, f. Alpin, f. Echach, f. Edafind, f. Echadach, f. Echach, f. Domongrat, f. Domnail-bric, f. Echach-buide, f. Edan, f. Gabran, f. Domangrat, f. Ferguſa, f. Eirc, f. Echach-miraremuir, f. Oengus-ſaphir, f. Fedelinthe-aiſſlingig, f. Oenguſa-buiding, f. Fedelinthe-ramnaich, f. Seanchormaic, f. Cruith-linde, f. Findſece, f. Achircir, f. Achach-antoir, f. Fiachrach-cathmail, f. Ecdach-riade, f. Conare, f. Mogalande, f. (*e*) Luigdig, f. Ellatig, f. Corpre-crupchini, f. Dare-dornmoir, f. (*f*) Corbre-fadmoir, f. Co-

(*a*) *Supple* Henrici.
(*b*) *I.e.* A.D. MCLXV.
(*c*) Scilicet ab unione regnorum Pict. & Scot. circa A. D. 850.
(*d*) L. Cinacha.
(*e*) Luigdig Ellatig.
(*f*) Corbre Findmore

nare-

nare-moir, f. Eterſceail, f. Eogam, f. Elela, f. Jai, f. Dedaid, f. Sin, f. Roſin, f. Their, f. Rothir, f. Roin, f. Arandil, f. Maine, f. (*a*) Forgo, f. (*b*) Feradaig, f. Elela-aramni, f. (*c*) Fachra, f. Firmara, f. Oengus-turmig, f. Firce-chairoid, f. Ferroid, f. Fir-anroid, f. Firatbrig, f. Labchore, f. Echachaltletchin, f. Elela-caſſiacleg, f. Conliach, f. Erero, f. Moalgi, f. Coabtaig-coelbreg, f. Ugane-more, f. Eedaigluadaig, f. Duachlograich, f. Fiathraigdualdach, f. Duachlograich, f. Fiachraig-tollgraich, f. Muredaich-bollgreich, f. (*d*) Simon, f. Briſt (*e*).

(*a*) *Hic ille eſt qui a* Forduno *dictus* Ferguſius, *conditor regni Scotorum in Britannia conſtitutus eſt.*

(*b*) *Hic a* Forduno *& ſequacibus dictus eſt* Ferchardus ſive Ferquardus.

(*c*) Fiachra-Firmara.

(*d*) Simon Bric, &c.

(*e*) *Vide reliqua hujus genealogiæ nomina apud Radulfum* de Diceto *inter ſcriptores Angliæ, apud* Joan. Fordun *& alibi pregreditur ſeries genealogica, horum temporum* more, *uſque ad Noe.*

NUM. V.

NUM. V.

Ex *Regiſtro Prioratus S. Andreæ,* (*a*) *a folio* 46, *ad fol.* 49 (*b*)

NOMINA REGUM SCOTTORUM ET PICTORUM.

* * *Series Regum Scottorum. fol.* 46.

Summa Regum xxiii. annorum cccxxvii. & 3 menſ. (*c*)

1 FERGUS filius Erth primus in Scotia regnavit tribus annis ultra Drumalban uſque Sluagh (*d*) muner & uſque ad Inchegal.

2 Dovenghart fil. Fergus quinque ann. regnavit.

3 Congal fil. Dovenghart 24 an. regn.

4 Gauran fil. Dovenghart 22 an. regn.

5 Conal fil. Congal 14 an. regn.

6 Edhan fil. Gauran 34 an. regn.

7 Heoghedbude 16. an.

(*a*) *De excerptis hujus regiſtri.* V. *Supra,* pag. 606.

(*b*) *Hæc foliorum regiſtri tam accurata notatio, quæ & ſervatur in aliis hujus Regiſtri excerptis a V. Cl. D. Sybaldo ad me tranſmiſſis, probat primum exſcriptorem hujuſmodi excerptorum ipſum authenticum regiſtrum ob oculos habuiſſe: etſi ab aliquot annis ipſum autographum, neſcio quo caſu, diſparuerit.*

(*c*) *In hoc numero* cccxvii *annorum* xxiii *regum ab initio Fergusii ad exitum Alpini manifeſtus eſt error ſive ſcriba, ſive codicis ipſius; quemadmodum & ſæpiſſime alias erratum eſt in notis numeralibus annorum regni horum regum.*

(*d*) *I. Sluagh more.*

8 Kinnath

8 Kinathkerr fil. Conal 3 menſ.
9 Ferchar fil. Ewin 16 an.
10 Dovenald Brec fil. Heoghedbude 14 an.
11 Malduin fil. Dovenald Durn 16 an.
12 Ferchar-foda 21 an.
13 Heoghed Rinnavel fil. Dovenghart filii Dovenald Brec. 3 an.
14 Armkelleth fil. Findan. 1 an.
15 Heatgan fil. Findan 16 an.
16 Murdochus fil. Armkelleth 3 an.
17 Heoghan fil. Murdach 3 an.
18 Hethfin fil. Heoghed Rinnevale 30 an.
19 Fergus fil. Hethfin 3 an.
20 Sealuhanc fil. Eogagan 24 an.
21 Heoghed annuine fil. Hethfin 30 an.
22 Dungal fil. Heoghed annuine 7 an.
23 Alpin fil. Heoghed annuine. 3 an. Hic occiſus eſt in Gallewathia, poſtquam eam penitus deſtruxit & devaſtavit. Et hinc tranſlatum eſt regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.

Nomina regum Pictorum. (a)

1 *CRUTHEUS fil. Kinne clemens judex accepit monarchiam in regno Pictorum, & regnavit* 50 *annis.*
2 *Gede* 101 *an. regnavit.*

(a) De diſcrepantia hujus catalogi a cronica Pictorum tam in nominibus quam in numero regum. Vide quæ dicta ſunt ſupra pag. 124, 125, &c.

3 *Tharan*

3 *Tharan* 100 *an. regn.*
4 *Duchil* 40 *an. regn.*
5 *Duordeghel* 20 *an. regn.*
6 *Deootheth* 60 *an. regn.*
7 *Combuſt* 20 *an. regn.*
8 *Caranathrecht* 40 *an. regn.*
9 *Gernath-bolg.* 9 *an. regn.*
10 *Umpopnenet* 30 *an. regn.*
11 *Fiachua albus* 30 *an. regn.*
12 *Canatulmel* 6 *an. regn.*
13 *Dinornacht Netalec* 1 *anno*
14 *Feodak Finleg* 2 *an.*
15 *Garnat-dives* 60 *an.*
16 *Talarg fil. Keother* 25 *an.*
17 *Druſt fil. Urb.* 100 *ann. rexit* (*b*) & 100 *bella peregit*
18 *Talarg fil. Amil* 2 *an.*
19 *Nethan Thelcamot* 10 *an.*
20 *Druſt Gormot* 30 *an.*
21 *Galam* 15 *an.*
22 *Druſt fil. Gigurum* 5 *an.*
23 *Druſt fil. Hydroſſig* 8 *an.*
24 *Ganut fil. Gigurum* 6 *an.*
25 *Kelturan frater ejus* 6 *an.*
26 *Golorg fil. Mordeleg.* 12 *an.*
27 *Druſt fil. Moneth* 1 *anno*
28 *Tagalad* 4 *an.*

(*b*) Exemplar Jacobi Gray ex iiſd. S. Andreæ monumentis, ut apparet, deſcriptum, habet 100 ann. *vixit*, non autem *rexit*. De hoc v. notam p. 136. ſupra.

29 *Brude fil. Melchon* 30 *an. Hunc ad fidem convertit S. Columba*
30 *Garnat fil. Domnach* 20 *an.*
31 *Nethan fil. Ub.* 21 *an. Hic ædificavit Abernethyn.*
32 *Kinel fil. Luthren* 14 *an.*
33 *Nectan fil. Fottle* 5 *an.*
34 *Brude fil. Fathe* 5 *an.*
35 *Telarg fil. Fetobar* 11 *an.*
36 *Talargan fil. Amfrude* 5 *an.*
37 *Garnat fil. Domnal* 5 *an.*
38 *Druſt frater ejus* 6 *an.*
39 *Brude fil. Bile* 21 *an. Hujus tempore floruit S. Adamnanus*
40 *Taram fil. Amfredech* 14 *an.*
41 *Brude fil. Derili* 31 *an.*
42 *Nectan frater ejus* 18 *an.*
43 *Garnath fil. Ferath* 24 *an.*
44 *Oenguſa fil. Ferguſa* 16 *an.*
45 *Nethan fil. Derili* 9 *menſ.*
46 *Alpin fil. Feret* 6 *menſ.*
47 *Oenguſa fil. Brude* 6 *menſ. Idem iterum* 30 *annis.*
48 *Brude fil. Tenegus* 8 *an.*
49 *Druſt fil. Talargan* 1 *an.*
50 *Talargan fil. Druſtan* 4 *an.*
51 *Talargan fil. Tenegus* 5 *an.*
52 *Conſtantin fil. Ferguſa* 42 *an. Hic ædificavit Dunkelden*
53 *Hungus fil. Ferguſa* 10 *an. Hic ædificavit Kilrymont*

54 *Du-*

54 *Puſtalorg* 4 *an.*
55 *Eoganan fil. Hungus* 3 *an.*
56 *Ferat fil. Batot* 3 *an.*
57 *Brude fil. Ferat* 1 *menſ.*
58 *Kinat fil. Ferat* 1 *menſ.*
59 *Brude fil. Fotel* 2 *an.*
60 *Druſt fil. Ferat* 3 *an. Hic occiſus eſt apud Forteviot; ſecundum alios, apud Sconam.*

24 (*a*) Kinath Mac-Alpin 16 an. Super Scotos regnavit, deſtructis Pictis; mortuus in Fortevioth; ſepultus in Yona inſula, ubi tres filii Erc, ſcilicet Fergus, Loarn & Enegus ſepulti fuerant. Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum.

25 Dovenald Mac-Alpin 4 an. mortuus in Raith in Veramont, ſepultus in Yona inſula.

26 Conſtantin Mac-Kinath 16 an. Interfectus eſt a Norwigenſibus in bello in Merdo (*b*) fatha, ſepultus in Iona inſula.

27 Ed Mac-Kinet uno anno. Interfectus in bello in Strathalin a Girg filio Dungal. ſep. in Iona.

28 Girg Mac-Dungal 12 an. Mortuus eſt in Dundurn, & ſepultus in Iona. Hic ſubjugavit ſibi Hyberniam totam & fere Angliam. Et hic primus dedit libertatem eccleſiæ Scoti-

(*a*) *Habetur in veteri codice Bibl. Cotton.* [Vitellius A. 20] *exemplar hujus chronici regum Scotorum a Kenetho & deinceps.*
(*b*) Werdo fatha. *MS. Cotton.*

canæ, quæ ſub ſervitute erat uſque ad illud tempus ex (*a*) conſtitutione & more Pictorum.

29 Dovenal Mac-Conſtantin 11 an. Mortuus eſt in Fores, & ſepultus in Iona.

30 Conſtantin Mac-Edha 40 an. Hic dimiſſo regno ſponte Deo in habitu religionis abbas factus Keledeorum S. Andreæ 5 ann. (*b*) & ibi mortuus eſt & ſepultus.

31 Malcom Mac-Dovenald 9 an. interfectus in Ulurn a Moravienſib. (*c*) ſep. in Iona.

32 Induff Mac-Conſtantin 9 an. interfectus a Norwagenſib. in Inverculan ſep. in Iona.

33 Duff Mac-Malcolm 4 ann. & 6 menſ. Interfectus in Fores & abſconditus ſub ponte de Kinlos; & ſol non apparuit quamdiu ibi latuit (*d*). Sepultus in Iona.

34 Culin Mac-Induff 4 an. & 6 menſ. Interfectus ab Andarch filio Dovenald propter filiam ſuam in Laudonia.

35 Kinath Mac-Malcolm 24 an. & 2 menſ. Interfectus in Fotherkern a ſuis per perfidiam Finellæ filiæ Cunechat comitis de Angus, cujus Finellæ filium unicum prædictus Kinath interfecit apud Dunſinoen.

36 Conſtantin Mac-Culin 1 an. & 6 menſ. Interfectus a Kinat filio Malcolm I. in Rathveramoen, & ſepultus in Iona.

(*a*) *Conſuetudine* MS. Cot.
(*b*) *Servivit.* MS. Cot.
(*c*) *Per dolum.* Cot.
(*d*) *Et inventus eſt* &c. Cot.

37 Girgh

37 Girgh Mac-Kinat-Mac-Duff 8 an. Interfectus a filio Kinet in Moeghanard, ſep. in Iona inſ.

38 Malcolm Mac-Kinath rex victorioſiſſimus 30 an. Mortuus in Glamis, & ſep. in Iona inſula.

39 Donchath (*a*) Mac-Trini abbatis de Dunkeld & Bethoc filiæ Malcom-Mac-Kinat 6 an. Interfectus a Macbeth-Mac-Finleg in Bothgouanan & ſep. in Iona.

40 Macbeth-Mac-Finleg 17 an. Interfectus in Lunſanan a Malcolm-Mac-Donchat & ſepultus in Iona.

41 Lulach fatuus 4 menſ. Interfectus eſt in Eſſei in Strathbolgi, & ſep. in Iona.

42 Malcolm Mac-Donechat 37 an. & 8 menſ. Interfectus in Inneraldan, (*b*) ſep. in Iona. Hic fuit vir S. Margaretæ.

43 Donald Mac-Donechat prius regnavit 6 menſ. & poſtea expulſus eſt, &

44 Donekan Mac-Malcolm regnavit 6 menſ. hoc interfecto a Malpeder Macloen comite de Moerns in Monachedin: rurſum Donald Mac-Donechat regnavit 3 annis. Hic captus eſt ab Edgar Mac-Malcolm, cœcatus eſt & mortuus in Roſcolpin, ſepultus in Dunkelden, hinc tranſlata oſſa in Iona.

45 Edgar 9 an. Mortuus in Dunedin, & ſepultus in Dunfermling.

(*a*) *Mac trivi.* C.

(*b*) *Juxta Alnwick.* C.

46 Alexander 17 an. & 3 menſ. & dimidio. Mortuus in Craſleti, ſep. in Dunfermling

47 David 29 an. & 3 menſ. Mortuus in Carleolo, ſep. in Dunfermling.

48 Malcolm fil. Henrici filii David 12 an. & 6 menſ. & 20 dieb. Mortuus apud Jedword ſep. in Dunfermling.

49 Willelmus 52 an. Mortuus in Strivelin, ſep. in Aberbrothok, cui ſucceſſit

50 Alexander fil. Will. 34 an. & 8 menſ. Obiit a° 1249 in expeditione in quadam inſula Eregethal, & ſep. apud Melroſs. cui ſucceſſit

51 Alexander filius puer ſeptem annor. coronatus apud Sconam 3 id. Julii a Davide Epo S. Andreæ 1251. Hic rex perexit in Angliam & honorificè ſuſceptus eſt a rege Angliæ, apud Eboracum factus eſt miles: & craſtino die deſponſavit regis filiam. Neſcio quo infortuito Zabulo ſeminante diſcordiam inter magnates terræ hujus, cancellarius & juſticiarius Scotiæ apud regem Angliæ accuſati, ab officiis deprivati, & alii eorum loco ſubſtituti.

NUM. VI.

NUM. VI.

BREVE CHRONICON SCOTICUM SIVE CHRONICON RYTHMICUM (a).

Ad calcem Scoti-chronici MS. Collegii Scotorum Pariſien. (b).

Prologus.

CUM hujus præcedentis voluminis prolixitas, hominum quoque memoriæ labilitas, & incerti temporis brevitas, non ſinunt univerſa quæ inibi ſcripta ſunt animo ſcire multa cupientis, ſimiliterque ſemel (c) comprehendere; ideo mihi viſum eſt pro ingenioli mei capacitate quædam inde extrahere; & in unius corpus codicilli quodam compendio, (d) ſcripto veteri metrico, & novo ad propoſitum reſpondente, quaſi ſub quodam epilogo

(a) *De hoc Chronico Rythmico vide quæ dicta ſunt ſupra*, p. 608, &c. p. 677.

(b) *In hoc codice Pariſienſi extat genuinum & minimè interpolatum. Habetur etiam hoc idem Chronicon ſive in initio ſive ad calcem Scotichronicorum MSS. Paſtaten. in biblioth. Regia Londin. Collegii Edinburgen. Panmuren. Cartuſien. in bibl. Jurid. Edinb. Cuprenſi & aliis: ſed in pleriſque cum multis interpolationibus & additionibus, quorum aliquas infra notabimus: ſicut & varias lectiones alicujus momenti.*

(c) L. Simul & ſemel, *rectius juxta cod. Paſt.*

(d) Partim ex metris veteribus, partim ex recentibus ad propoſitum facientibus. *Cod. Paſtat.*

ſummatim redigere, præcipuè quæ facere videntur ad noticiam inclytorum regum Scotorum; de qua ſtirpe, quave origine ad iſtas oras devenerunt; & quoto tempore, & quoto ante Pictos, cum iisdem, & poſt eos viciſſim regnaverunt; & qualiter nunc ſtirps Scotigena miſcetur cum Saxonica, qualiterque Britannica ſtirpe multigena variatur, & quomodo rex Scociæ modernus de jure debito, debet tam Angliæ quam Scociæ præfici regnis (*a*).

PRIMA PARS CHRONICI.

CAP. I. *Quo tempore ante incarnationem Chriſti incepit Scota, a qua Scocia.*

Quiſque loqui gaudet validus de ſanguine puro
Quorumdam precibus de Scotis dicere curo:
Unde ſui generis ortus primævus habetur,
Quorum poſteritas trans tempora perpetuetur.
Quidquid narrabo per cronica ſcripta (*b*) probabo
De veterum geſtis: reliquorum ſum quia teſtis
Scribere nam volui mihi quæ præſentia vidi (*c*).

Adam primævum non incipiam numerare;
Quomodo nec dicam Noe cœpit generare.

(*a*) *Hic interſeritur in pleriſque Scotichronicis deſcriptio ætatum mundi.*

(*b*) L. priſca. *Cod. Paſlat.*

(*c*) *In cod. Paſlat. adduntur hic ſequentes duo verſiculi:*
Si verum ſcribam verum credo fore ſcribam
Scripſero ſi vanum, caput eſt quaſi non mihi ſanum.

Hoc

Hoc genus a Japheth ejus nato juniore
Quamvis deſcenderat, referam tamen a propiore
Per quem dicatur ſtirps hæc, & magnificatur.
Quingentis mille cum ſexaginta monoſque,
Annis ut reperi præceſſit tempora Chriſti
Agnus ſub lege primus mactatus in æde
Biblia teſtatur, quod tunc revocare paratur
Rex Pharao populum fugientem per mare rubrum,
Cujus rex Pharao mergitur in medio.
Ex tunc Scotorum deſcribam tempus, & horum
Progeniem referam per tempora continuatam.

CAP. II. *Gaithelos intulit lapidem.*

Poſtquam paſſus erat Pharao miſerabile funus
Nobilis exierat ab Ægypto Scliyticus unus
Exul qui lapidem Pharaonis detulit idem
Ut liber fatur, Gaithilglas ille vocatur.
Hic bis undenus fuit a (*a*) Japheth alienus
Ut ſic credatis dat linea ſanguinitatis,
Naufraga navigio qui plura pericula paſſus
Ad terram tandem venit ſic (*b*) equite laſſus:
Sed lapis hunc (*c*) erexit ipſum qui per mare vexit
Hic lapis, ut fatur, hæc anchora vitæ vocatur.

(*a*) *In veteri genealogia regum Scotorum ſunt circiter* 22 *gradus ſeu generationes inter Japhet & hunc Gathilglas ſeu Geythelos.* V. Fordun lib. 5. c. 10. *In Hybernicis autem tantum quatuor: illi enim more ſolito veterem genealogiam reformarunt ob rationes ſupra notatas.* pag. 485, &c.

(*b*) F. Æquore.

(*c*) Rexit. *Cod. Paſtat.*

Cumque locum petiit ſecurus ad reſidendum
Pluribus hunc annis Hiſpania cœpit alendum.
Cujus progenies nimis augmentatur ibidem
Sicut ſcriptura teſtatur condita pridem.

CAP. III. *De eodem lapide* (*a*).

Poſt obitum regis Pharaonis mille duobus
Annis, ut recolo, tunc quidam nomine Milo •
Rex Hiſpanorum, qui plures (*b*) magnos habebat
Natos, illorum tamen unum plus recolebat.
Scilicet is Simon cognomine Brek fuit unus:
Cui pater exhibuit quoddam prænobile munus,
Scilicet hanc Petram Gaizilglas quam tulit equam (*c*)
Perque fretum geſſit ab Ægypto quando receſſit.
Milo prophetavit nato (qui quem recreavit
Lætari cœpit hanc Petram quando recepit)
Quod ſua regnaret ſtirps hanc quocunque locaret.
Ecce Deo dante; ſicut (*d*) factum fuit ante
Sic fit in inſtante: Simon Brek quo mediante,
Sic augmentante, Sobolis partem venientis
Ad ſe ſuſcepit Hybernia: quo reſidentes
Annos per multos: horum quos vidit adultos
Quoſdam deduxit validus (*e*) Lorimonie quidam
Primus

(*a*) De rege Milone. C. *Paſt.*

(*b*) Magnus. C. *Paſt.*

(*c*) F. Secum. *Nam autor horum verſuum numeros vel quantitatem parum videtur attendiſſe.*

(*d*) L. fatum. C. *Paſt.*

(*e*) Lori nomine quidam. C. *Paſtat. Sed quiſnam fuerit ille Lori qui primus deduxit Scotos ad Ergadiam nuſquam reperi.*

Additur

Nimus ad Ergadiam: quo tempore concito dicam
Iſti ſunt ducti: dicuntur poſtea Scoti.
Nam velut a Githia Geticus, ſeu Gothia Gothi,
Dicitur a Sithia Sithicus, ſic Scotia Scoti,
Quæ prius Albania ſic fertur Scotia terra.
Scoti a Scota, de Scotis Scocia nota,
A muliere Scota vocatur Scocia tota.

CAP. IV. *Quot annis rexerunt Picti.*

Quod jam promiſi tempus ſic ecce reliſi
(*a*) Bis bis centeno quater endeca, ſed minus uno
Anno quo ſumpſit primos Ergadia Scotos,
Ut referunt iſti, fuit incarnatio Chriſti.
Annorum ſumma Pictis præoccupatorum
Hic dat Scotorum deca quinque centibinorum
Et annos quindecim, tres menſes jungito quidem.
Tunc Scoti quærunt quot anni præterierunt
Poſtquam vicerunt Pictos qui tunc coluerunt
Albaniam citro Drumalban, ſed minus ultra.

Additur tamen ad marginem libri Paſtaten. alia manu: Lori fuit tertius a Simone Brek. *& alludere videtur ad nomen Loghraich quod pronunciatur* Loraich. *Fuit autem Duach Logaich tertius aut quartus in veteri genealogia a* Simone Brek.

(*a*) *Vide qua ſuperius,* p 703. *dicta ſunt de Uſſerii interpretatione horum verborum. Sane ex tota hujus & præcedentis capituli ſerie patet per hos verſiculos* Bis bis centeno, &c. *Autorem conſuiſſe Scotos in Britannia quadringentis quadraginta tribus annis ante Incarnationem cœpiſſe habitare; ſedeſque in hac inſula habuiſſe ante adventum Pictorum, quos & hic autor & omnes alii ſcriptores Scoti, ducentis ſaltem ante natum Chriſtum annis, in has oras commigraſſe ſentiunt.*

Ut

Ut Scoti valeant memoratum tempus habere
Per Scociam totam quo cœperunt reſidere.
Qui Picti terram rexere mille ducentis,
Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
Ut verum renovem, menſibus atque novem.
Pictis amotis datur hæc reſponſio Scotis:
D. Semel & ter C. poſt X. ter & X. quater inde.
Iſtorum numeri monſtrant quo tempore Chriſti,
Sed trans (*a*) Dun-Alban cœpit regnare Kenedus
Filius Alpini Pictorum fraude perempti
In bello pridem quos Alpin vicerat idem.
Sed cum ſeptenis Kened regnaverat annis
Nititur in Pictos ulciſci funera patris,
Quoſdam ſternendo bello, (*b*) quoſcunque fugando:
Ex tunc Albaniæ regnum totale regebat,
Quæ prius in parte regni dicta reſidebat,
Progenies cujus jus regni nunc tenet hujus.

CAP. V. *Primus rex regnavit in Argadia.*

Ex annis Domini qui continue renovantur
Apparet per quot annos Scoti dominantur:
Sic patet in genere de tempore ſufficienter;
Reges nunc referam qui regnavere (*c*) frequenter.
In tamen Ergadia vixit per tempora multa
Hæc gens ſub lege naturæ, ſed ſine rege,
Donec ad Ergadiam tulit audax nomine quidam

(*a*) L. Drum-albam. *C. Paſtat.*
(*b*) L. Quoſdamque fugando. *rectius cum C. Paſtat.*
(*c*) L. Sequenter. i. e. Succeſſive. *rectius cum C. Paſtat.*

(*a*) Fer-

Fergusius (*a*) lapidem, de quo sit mentio pridem.
Hic primo rexit Scotos, lapidem quia vexit.
Quem Scoti lapidem sanxerunt ponere sedem
Regibus inde suis tantum, sed non alienis (*b*).

CAP. VI. *De continuatione regum usque ad Kenethum.*

R. 1. Primus in Ergadia Fergus (*c*) rexit tribus annis:

RR. 2, 3. Post Donegart quinis: Congal quater octo bis (*d*):

RR. 4, 5. Endeca bis Gouren: sed quatuor & deca Conal:

(*a*) *Hunc fuisse Fergusium filium Erch ex contextu chronici hujus totaque serie subsequentium regum sequenti capitulo, manifestè patet.*

(*b*) *In C. Pastat. Edinb. &c. hic additur versus sequens.*

Ut Scona testatur usque huc lapis iste locatur.

(*c*) *In hoc & sequentibus hujus chronici capitulis eadem omnino regum nomina, ordo & successio ac in duobus præcedentibus chronicis sive catalogis, quemadmodum & in chronico Wintonii infra posito, & in catalogo sive chronico Jacobi Gray; nec inter hæc omnia chronica sive catalogos aliud reperire est alicujus momenti discrimen præterquam in numeris annorum regni quorundam regum, in quibus frequenter ex more erratur, sive scribæ, sive autorum incogitantia aut hallucinatione.*

(*d*) *Hic manifesta videtur transpositio numeri annorum regni Aidani pro annis regni Congalli, & vicissim. Constat enim apud omnes Aidanum regnasse annis* 34. *sive* quater octo & binis (*ut hic habet Cod. Edingburg. collegii*) *qui hic tribuuntur Congallo, quem ex aliis plerisque chronicis regnasse constat tantum* 24, *aut quatuor & deca bis annis, qui hic falsè tribuuntur Aidano.*

RR. 6, 7. Qua-

RR. 6, 7 Quatuor, & deca bis Edhan (a) vi. Eoghedbod:

R. 8. Kinath-Ker per tres rexit tantummodo menſes:

R. 9. Sed Ferquarth annos per quatuor & duodenos:

RR. 10. 11. Bis ſeptem Donald: octo bis Malduin annis:

RR. 12, 13. Ter ſeptem Fercard: tredecim, ſed rexit Eoghed: (b)

RR. 14, 15. Armkellach uno: ſed tred. (c) regnavit Eogan:

RR. 16, 17. Rex Murdauch trinis: (d) Neogan uno quoque bino:

RR. 18, 19, 20. Hetfin per deca ter: Fergus tres: (e) ſed Sealuanc

R. 21. Quatuor & deca bis: ſed (f) Eogad annique tricenis:

RR. 22, 23. Dungal ſeptenis: Alpinus ſed tribus annis:

24. Annis ſeptenis Kenedus (g) filius Alpin.

(a) *Jam obſervavimus hunc* 24 *annorum numerum congruere tantum Congallo.*

(b) Eogyn *C. Paſtat.*

(c) L. tredecim.

(d) L. Heogan.

(e) Sealanvan. *C. Poſtat.*

(f) L. Eogad annuinque.

(g) *Si Kenethus regnum inierit A. D.* 836. *& ſeptem annis regnaverit ſuper Scotos ante adjunctionem regni Pictici ſedecim annis monarchiæ ipſius ſuper tota Albania cæpiſſe oportet A. D.* 843. *Sed de his alias.*

Hi cum prædictis regnarunt tempore Pictis,
Quod trecentenos quatuor octoque continet annos,
His annis & tres debetis jungere menſes. (*a*)
Chriſti tranſactis tribus annis atque ducentis (*b*)
Scotia Catholicam cœpit habere fidem
Roma victore primo papa reſidente.
C. quater & deca ter a carne Dei numerabis
In Scotia quando legem Chriſti renovabis:
Lex Chriſti colitur hanc Palladio renovante
Primus cæleſtinus Scotiæ quem miſerat ante
Præcedunt Scoti quingentis Anglicis annis.
Quamvis & credit ante hos (*c*) *Brutus & obedit.*
(*d*) *Albion in terris rex primus germine Scotus*
Illorum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis
Ferguſius fulvo Ferchardi rugieniis in arvo.
Chriſtum tercentis ter denis præfnit annis
Lilifer ille leo roſidus nunc pingitur auro.

CAP. VII. *De continuatione regum.*

R. 24. Et poſtquam Kenede Pictos omnino fugavit
Annos octo bis regnando continuavit:

(*a*) *Hic (ut ſuperiùs monuimus pag. 677, 678.) inter hoc caput 6. & 7. in magnis pleriſque Scotichronicis ſequens inſeritur interpolatio ex variis Forduni locis, & aliunde ineptè conſarcinata, ut ſola lectione manifeſtè pateat hanc additionem non eſſe genuinum autoris hujus chronici partum. Hinc in exemplari genuino codicis Collegii Scot. Pariſ. non habetur.*

(*b*) Fordun. lib. 2. cap. 35.

(*c*) i.e. antiqui Britones.

(*d*) Fordun. lib. 2. cap. 12.

R. 25.

R. 25. Donald Mac-Alpin poſt rexit quatuor annis

RR. 26, 27, 28. Sed (*a*) Conſtantinus: Ed. (*b*) uno: Greg. (*c*) duodenis:

RR. 29, 30. Donald undenis: Conſtantin bis quoque vicenis:

RR. 31, 32. Malcolmus primus, ſic Induſſ quiſque novenis:

R. 33. Sed Duff per ſenos menſes & quatuor annos:

RR. 34, 35 Per tantum Culen: ſed Kened ſex quater annis

R. 36. Menſibus & binis: Conſtantinuſque per annum

R. 37. Et menſes ſenos: tunc Greg (*d*) octo per annos:

RR. 38, 39. Malcom per deca ter: Duncan ſex: ſed deca ſeptem

RR. 40, 41. Macbeth: ſed (*e*) Lahoulan per menſes quatuor: atque

R. 42. Malcolm Kenremor (*f*) annos per ter deca ſeptem

R. 43. Et menſes octo: cujus frater Donevaldus Annos complevit ternos regnando viciſſim,

R. 44. Dum Duncan medio ſex menſes tempore vixit.

(*a*) i. e. Sedecim.
(*b*) Aodh ſive Ethus dictus.
(*c*) Gregorius.
(*d*) *Alias* Grim. *Vide indicem ſive catalogum nominum.*
(*e*) *Alias* Lulach.
(*f*) *Vulgo* Malcolm Keanmor.

CAP.

CAP. VIII. *De-hinc reges Scotorum proceſſerunt de Stirpe tam Saxonum, ſive Anglorum, quam Scotorum.*

Tunc ſtirps Scotigena Saxonum ſanguine mixta
Cœpit regnare, quod propono reſerare
Qualiter hoc eſſet, ut quivis dicere (*a*) poſſit.
De dicto nati Kenremor tres generati
Regnum rexerunt, quod ſucceſſim tenuerunt:
Quos Margarita peperit regina beata
Hæres Anglorum regum, regina Scotorum.
Ex (*b*) quo qui dubitat Anglorum cronica quærat:
Per quam (*ſic*) conjugium Scotis præbetur in uſum.
Non erat iſtorum generatio dico (*c*) duorum
Fratrum primorum: genuit tamen ultimus (*d*) horum
Per quem Scotorum generando continuatur (*e*)
Regia ſtirps, quorum ſucceſſio nunc reſeratur.
R. 45. Annis ter trinis & ternis menſibus Edgar
Primus regnavit de natis quos generavit
Malcolmus cum dicta Margarita beata.
R. 46. Hinc Alexander annis rexit deca ſeptem
Menſibus atque tribus, ſeptimaniſque duabus.
Iſte ſecundus erat fratrum: ſed tertius extat

(*a*) F. diſcere.
(*b*) F. De quo.
(*c*) *Silicet* Edgari & Alexandri.
(*d*) David.
(*e*) *Hic verſus oſcitantia ſcribæ deeſt in Cod. Pariſ. ſed habetur in reliquis Codicibus.*

R. 47.

R. 47. David vicenis regnans anniſque novenis,
R. 48. Menſibus & ternis: tunc Malcolm fil. Henri
Annis bis ſenis & ſemis regna gerebat;
Ut (*a*) rumor geſſit hic Malcolm virgo receſſit.
At Henricus erat natus regis quoque David,
Quem rex is David ex Matilda generavit:
Hæres qui fuerat Huntindoniæ comitatus,
Cujus ſic eſſet ſi poſſet vivere natus:
Qui bello moritur de Cothon; ſed ſepelitur
In abbatia nomine Calconia (*b*).
Hæc Matilda datur de Senlis, quæ tumulatur
In Scona cujus templum buſtum tenet hujus.
R. 49. Quadraginta novem Willelmus rex erat annis:
Cujus Willelmi genitor dictus fuit Henri;
Et pariter comitis de Dunde nomine David:
Tres ſibi ſorores fuerant: Britan. comitiſſa
Quæ Margarita Conano conjugi data
Hæc junior datur germana, ſed altera vocatur
Nobilis Adiſſa: fuit hæc Holland comitiſſa,
Conjugioque datus erat huic de Roſs comitatus:
Morte præventam Matildam dic & inuptam.

SECUNDA PARS.

CAP. IX. *De nobili politico Alexandro tertio.*

Hactenus hæc dicta novi per cronica ſcripta (*c*)
A modo quæ novi ſcriptis deſcribere vovi

(*a*) Ut res ſe geſſit. *Cod. Panmur. &c.*

(*b*) Abbatia de Calco, *vulgo* Kelſo

(*c*) *Hactenus continentur quæ auctor ex ſcriptis ſive priſcis chronicis deſumpſerat. Hic incipit deſcribere quæ vel ipſe per ſe, vel ex coævorum relatione noverat: hinc addendum conſuimus titulum hunc* Secunda pars.

R. 50. Alter Alexander, quem rex Willelmus habebat
Natum, ter denis annis & quinque regebat:
Hic Alexander alium fertur genuiſſe
Hunc alium ternum pro certo dico fuiſſe.
R. 51. Ternus Alexander ter denis rex erat annis,
Et ſeptem fere: væ Scotis qui caruere
Principe tam grato, largo, mitique beato,
Qui quinquagenus regum fuit ordine primus (*a*).
Hic princeps annos Domini poſt mille ducentos
Et novem novies, ſed quatuor his ſuper addes (*b*)
Kyngorn non rite perſolvit debita vitæ,
Scilicet Aprilis decimo quartoque Kalendas;
Quo decet exequias celebrari perficiendas (*c*),
Ne valeant obitum monachi ſervare ſopitum
A quibus incolitur Dunfermlin, ſed ſepelitur.
Tanti tumba viri ſtudio meliore poliri
Debuit, artificum ſi funus haberet amicum.

SECUNDA PARS.

(*a*) *Hinc novâ confirmatur probatione ſive argumento Fergusium filium Erch primum fuiſſe regum Scotorum juxta priſca chronica, unde deſumpta ſunt præcedentia capitula, cum Alexander tertius & in hoc metrico chronico & in aliis omnibus ante editum* Forduni *chronicon, quinquageſimus primus rex a prædicto Fergusio numeretur.*

(*b*) *i. e.* A. D. 1285.

(*c*) *Hinc patet in more poſitum fuiſſe olim apud Scotos anniverſarias exequias regum celebrari in eccleſiis ſaltem ubi ſepulti erant.*

Poſt mortis morſum vertit dilectio dorſum (*a*);
Finita vita finit (*b*) amor, & ita
Corpus prædicti regis ſine prole relicti
Poſt annos fere ſeptem Scotis (*c*) (*ſic*) doluere
Qui regem vere (*d*) ariſtis non habuere (*e*).

CAP. X. *De rege Roberto Brois.*

Andreæ feſto, Domini poſt mille ducentos
Atque decem novies cum binis inſimul annis
Servando morem (*f*) regis ſibi ſumpſit honorem;
R. 52. Quem quinquagenum regum facit ordo ſecundum:
Dehinc ex toto Johanne rege remoto,
R. 53. De Brois Robertus regum de ſtirpe repertus,
Suſcipit in Scona regni Scociæ diadema:
Hæc in Aprilinas ſexto ſunt facta Kalendas.
Promittunt veteres quod erit hic belliger heros,
Qui ſua rura novans regna ſudabit ovans;
Stragibus immenſis ſudabit Scoticus enſis;
Corruet Angligena per eum gens non ſine pœna.
Hactenus hi toti fuerant ut plebs ſua Scoti;
Atque Deo dante ſic amodo ſie velut ante.
Eſt totum cœnum cujus caput eſt alienum
Sic populus quando fit rex alienus (*g*).

(*a*) *Quas querelas, quos gemitus edidiſſet antiquus hic ſcriptor, ſi omnium noſtrorum regum priſcorum monumenta non tantum in eccleſia de Dunfermlin, ſed ubique per totum regnum coram vidiſſet disjecta ſubverſa, ſolo æquata, aut etiam effoſſa!*
(*b*) L. Finitur.
(*c*) L. Scoti.
(*d*) L. Tot ariſtis. *Paſlat.*
(*e*) *Hic in Paſlat. & aliis multa addita.*
(*f*) *Intellige Johannem Bailol.*
(*g*) *Hic etiam nova additamenta in Paſlat. &c.*

CAP. XI. *De Roberto Brois.*

De Brois Robertus regum de ſtirpe regali
Bis deca rex Scotos regnavit quatuor annis
M, ſemel & ter C, bis & X novem ſuperadde,
Tunc rex Robertus bonus eſt de funere certus.
Ante ſuam mortem genuit ſimilem ſibi fortem,
R. 54. Magnanimum David rex Robertus generavit.
Hic rex regnavit deca terque novem ſimul annis (*a*);
Nullum ſuperſtes hæredem corpore gignit:
Mariora tamen ſoror ejuſdem generavit
R. 55. Galtero Stewart Robertum rite ſecundum:
Qui regnando decemque novem feliciter annis
R. 56. Regem Robertum generavit denique ternum
R. 57. Hic XVI ſtetit annis, Jacobum quoque gignit
Primum, qui regit annis deca terque duobus,
R. 58. Et Jacobum noſtrum genuit rex iſte modernum
Tempore ſcripturæ: tunc lector ſit tibi curæ
Quod fuit annorum ſeptem decem numerorum (*b*)
Quem Deus exaltet, regnum regat, atque gubernet.

(*a*) *Regnavit revera David* II. *annis* 41, *menſibus* 8, *& diebus* 15.

(*b*) *i. e.* A. D. 1447.

NUM. VII.

Extract of the Chronicle of *Andrew Winton*, Prior of *Lochlevin*. *See page* 621, *&c.* *& page* 680, *&c.*

Ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Cotton. [Nero, D. xi.] fol. 30.

FErgus Erthſone fra him (*a*) ſyne
Down deſcendand evin he Lyne
Into ye 5 and 50 gre (*b*)
As evin recknand men may ſe,
Brought this ſtane within Scotland (*c*).
And firſt it ſet in Icolmkil,
And ſkune yaireftir it wes broucht til:
And yair it wes ſyn mony a day,
Quhen Edwart gert haif it away
King of England, and ſyne he
Gert it ſett in Lundyn be.

(*a*) *I. e. Simon Breac*, who, according to the tradition of the *Scots*, firſt brought the famous ſtone from *Spain* to *Ireland*, and placed it there, ſays *Winton*, *as the charter of the kinrik*, from this *Simon* to *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, there were, according to the old *Scotiſh* genealogy, about fifty-five degrees or generations.

(*b*) *I. e.* Degree.

(*c*) Furſt quhen he came and wan yat lande, *Cod. Bibl. Reg. Lond.*

Ibidem, fol. 37.

Fergus Erthſone the firſt man
Wes yat in our land began
Before yat time (*a*) yat ye Peythis
Our kinrik wan fra ye Scottis,
And ſyne ye Peythis regnand were
A thouſand ane and ſixty yheres;
And fra yis Fergus down be lyne
Deſcendand evin was be lyne
Kenaucht, yat wes aught hundred yhere
And thre and fourtie paſſit cleir
Eftir the bleſſit nativite,
Or regnand he begouth to be

(*a*) *Winton* ſuppoſes here, and all along, that the *Scots* were long ſettled in *Britain* before the *Picts*. This opinion had taken riſe long before upon an emulation with the *Picts* (*V. pag.* 526, *ſupra*) and became, by degrees, common among the *Scots*, after the diſappearance of the *Picts*, under their own name, by the deſtruction or diſperſion of many of them, and by the incorporation of the reſt into one body of people with the *Scots*. And we meet with a *Scotiſh* writer, in the time of king *James* IV, (*a ſhort chronicle in proſe at end of* Winton in Biblioth Reg. Lond.) who tells us, that *Simon Breac* himſelf came to *Scotland*; that the *Scots* came into *Britain*, even before *Brutus*; and that at laſt the *Picts* came in. In ſhort, this writer tells us, that the number of kings of *Scots*, in his time, amounted to *near ſax ſcore of kings*. Thus we ſee the notion of an ancient ſettlement and monarchy, once it aroſe, went beyond all bounds.

Fra ye Peythis was put out.
The tend man without doubt (a)
Was Kenaught Makalpyne
Fra yis Fergus even be lyne:
And swa ther ten should occupy,
Gif all were rekynit fullely,
Twelf hundyd zheris and weil ma:
Bot I cannot counsaile it swa:
Bot yat yis Fergus was regnand
Within ye kinrick of Scotland
And yai ten yat regnand were
Eftir yis Fergus zhere be zhere,
As yai yat ye Croniklis wyate,
In till number sett ye date,
Among ge Peythis wes regnand
Within the kingdom of Scotland,
And liffit in bargain and in weer
Quhil Kenaucht rose wich his power.
Gif oyir of mair sufficians
Can fynd better accordance
Yis buke at likyn yai may mende:
Bot I now schortlie to mak ende
Thinkis for to sett yair date,
As Cornikles before me wyate, &c.

(a) *Winton* repeats this again (*fol.* 43.) that *Fergus Erthſon* was firſt king of the *Scots*, and that before the entry of the *Picts*; but finding that there were but ten generations betwixt this *Fergus* and *Keneth-mac-Alpin*, which he acknowledges could not take up more than three hundred years, he concludes, at laſt, that the *Picts* were already ſettled in *Scotland*, when *Fergus Erthſone* came in; which, he ſays, he found by other ſure authors.

Extract

Extract of *Andrew Winton*'s chronicle reviewed by himſelf, with additions and corrections. *Book* IV. *chap.* 8. (*a*).

Ex codice MS. Bibliothecæ Regiæ Londin. *See p.* 624, *ſupra*.

Four hundred winters and fifty (*b*)
And twa to reckyn our even likely
Before ye nativite, &c.
As in our ſtorie written is
Than in Scotland the Scottis
Begouth (*c*) to reign and to ſteir
Twa hundred full and fortie zhere
Five winters and monethis three
Gif yat all ſuld rekkonit be
Or the Peythis in Scotland
Came in, and in it were dwelland.
And now to thai (*d*) I turn my ſtyle,
Of yair lynage to ſpeke a while:
As in the third buke (*e*) was before
From Simon brek till Fergus more
Is as the Scottis lynally
Come down of Iriſchery,

(*a*) I have met with this ſucceſſion of the kings of *Scots* from *Fergus* in none of the other copies of *Winton*.

(*b*) L. forty. *Cod. Coton.*

(*c*) *I. e.* began.

(*d*) The *Scots*.

(*e*) *Winton*, Book III. cap. 9. *Cod. Bibl. Reg. Lond.*

Quhar yen I left now to begin
Yair namis here I will tak in
He yat was callet Fergus more
In ye third buke ze hard before
K. 1. Was Fergus Erthson yat thre yhere
Maid him beyond ye Drum (a) to steir (b)
Oure all ye hychtis evir ilkane
As yai ly fra Drumalbane
Till Stanemore (c) and Inchegall
Kyng he mad hym (d) oure (e) yaim all:
K. 2. Dongart his swn yheris fyve
Was tyll his father successyve:
K. 3. Congal Dongarts swn twentye zheres
And twa was kyng withouttin weres:
K. 4. Gowrran Dongarts swn alswa
Regnyt twentie zheris and twa:
K. 5. Conal nest (f) him Makcongal
Forteen zheres held yai landis all:
Thretty wyntyrs and four yan
K. 6. Edan regnyd Mak-Gowran:
K. 7. Heocged bwd sex zheris and ten
Kyng was in yai landis yan:
K. 8. Kynat ker Mak-colnal
Three monethis held yai landis all:

(a) In the margin of the MS. is this note, *Drum Albain*, the back of *Albany*.

(b) To raign.

(c) F. Sluaghmore.

(d) Himself.

(e) Over.

(f) Next.

K. 9. Fercha

K. 9. Ferchar Mackcony sexten zhere
As kyng (a) couth all the landis stere.
K. 10. Donald-brek son Hucgedbuode
Kyng was fourtene zheres proude (b)
And eftir yat his dayis wes downe
K. 11. Maldowny Dolnald Doynyswn
Sexteen winters kyng was hale (c):
And nest tuke yat governale
K. 12. Ferchar fodys sune, and was yan
Twentie wynteris kyng and ane:
K. 13. Hecgede (d) monavele Mackdongat
Downad Brekswn after yat
Regnyd twelve zheris fullelie.
Here I suspend yis genealogy:
Bot I will speke mare yarof swne
Quhen all ye (e) laive till yat is dwne (f).

(a) Could.
(b) Powerful.
(c) Sixteen years whole.
(d) Eochod-rinavel.
(e) The rest.
(f) The names of the following kings are intermixed with *Winton*'s chronicle, and in all the ordinary copies; so it were useless to set them down here.

NUM. VIII.

NUM. VIII.

INSTRUMENTUM (*a*) PUBLICUM, CONTINENS COPIAM ET EXEMPLAR DE VERBO IN VERBUM QUARUNDAM LITERARUM EDWARDI REGIS ANGLIE SUPER RENUNCIATIONE ET QUIETA CLAMATIONE OMNIUM OBLIGATIONUM, JURIUM, PACTORUM ET CONVENTORM FACTORUM INTER REGES SCOTIE ET ANGLIE, AUT SUORUM REGNORUM STATUS, SUPER SUBJECTIONE ET JURISCLAMIO REGIS SCOTIE ET IPSIUS REGNI. *Et res eſt bene notanda* (*b*).

Ex ipſo authentico inſtrumento in collegio Scotorum Pariſienſi. *Vide Præfationem*, num. xiv. *ſupra.*

UNIVERSIS ſancte matris eccleſie filiis, ad quorum notitiam preſentes litere pervenerint, *Henricus* (*c*) miſeracione divina epiſcopus ſancti Andree ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam. No-

(*a*) *Hoc inſtrumentum ſervabatur olim in archivo ſive tabulario eccleſiæ metropolitanæ Glaſguenſis; inde ereptum (dum univerſa eccleſiarum regni tabularia, prætextu religionis, conflagrarent) a Jacobo Beaton archiepiſcopo cum aliis eccleſiæ ſuæ chartis & inſtrumentis in Gallias deportatum eſt.*

(*b*) *Hæc nota alia manu additur titulo ut majori cura ſervaretur hoc inſtrumentum.*

(*c*) *Henricus de Wardelaw.*

veriſ

verit univerſitas veſtra, quod nuper coram nobis pro tribunali ſedentibus in capella juxta magnum pontem burgi de Perth noſtre dioceſeos, conſtitutus reverendus in Chriſto pater dominus (*a*) Gilbertus, Dei gracia, epiſcopus Abirdonenſis, cancellarius Scocie, nomine, & ex parte trium ſtatuum regni Scocie tunc congregatorum & conſilium generale facientium in domo fratrum Predicatorum dicti burgi, quaſdam literas recolende memorie domini Edwardi, Dei gracia, regis Anglie, principis quondam inclitiſſimi produxit, nobiſque exhibuit & oſtendit; quarum tenores de verbo ad verbum inferius deſcribuntur. Quas quidem literas idem dominus epiſcopus & cancellarius tranſcribi petiit, & exemplari ac in publicam & attenticam formam ad futuram rei memoriam redigi authoritate noſtra ordinaria, cum interpoſitione decreti, ne propter defectum probacionis eorum, que in ipſis literis continentur, dominus noſter rex Scocie, qui pro tempore fuerit ac regnum & regnicole quoviſmodo inquietari vel perturbari valerent ipſis litteris originalibus perditis vel deſtructis. Nos igitur volentes probacionibus ſubvenire, ne veritate occultata juſtitia deperiret, viſis, lectis, & diligenter inſpectis litteris ipſis in noſtra preſentia, de verbo ad verbum, per notarios publicos infraſcriptos, nobis veris abſque ſuſpicione reputatis, & cum originalibus examinatis, & ſigillis in iiſdem appenſis integris, &, ut bene apparuit, veris. Ipſius

(*a*) *Gilbertus de Greneſlaw.*

domini

domini epiſcopi & cancellarii petitioni, utpote rationabili, annuentes prefatas litteras tranſcribi & exemplari mandavimus & fecimus per notarios publicos infraſcriptos, tenore preſentium decernentes quod tranſcripto hujuſmodi ſive exemplacioni deinceps per omnia plena fides adhibeatur, tam in judiciis quam extra, ſicut originalibus literis prelibatis: quibus omnibus & ſingulis noſtram authoritatem interponimus & decretum. Tenores ipſarum literarum tales ſunt. *UNIVERSIS preſentes litteras inſpecturis*, Edwardus, *Dei gracia, rex Anglie, dominus Hybernie, & Dux Acquitanie, ſalutem in domino ſempiternam. Cum nos, nonnulliqúe predeceſſores noſtri, reges Anglie, jura regiminis dominii, ſeu ſuperioritatis regni Scocie conati fuerimus obtinere, ob hocque motarum dira guerrarum diſcrimina Anglie & Scocie regna diutius afflixiſſent, nos attendentes cedes, occiſiones, ſcelera, eccleſiarum deſtructiones, & mala innumerabilia, que hujuſmodi occaſione guerrarum regnicolis utriuſque regni multipliciter contingebant, bonaque quibus regnum utrumque mutuis compendiis habundaret, perpetue pacis ſtabilitate connexum, ac per hoc contra conatus noxios rebellare vel impugnare volentium interius vel exterius majori firmitate ſecurum, volumus, & concedimus, per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, quibuſcunque, de communi conſilio, aſſenſu, & conſenſu prelatorum & procerum, comitum & baronum, ac communitatum regni noſtri in parliamento noſtro, quod regnum Scocie per ſuas rectas marchias prout temporibus bone memorie Alexan-*

dri

dri regis Scocie ultimò defuncti fuerunt habite & ſervate magnifico principi domino Roberto, Dei gracia, regi Scotorum, illuſtri confederato ac amico noſtro cariſſimo, ſuiſque heredibus & ſucceſſoribus diviſum in omnibus a regno Anglie integrum, liberum & quietum remaneat in perpetuum, abſque qualicunque ſubjectione, ſervitute, clameo vel demanda. Et ſi quod jus nos, vel anteceſſores noſtri, in regno Scocie retroactis temporibus petierimus, vel petierint quoquomodo, prefato regi Scocie, heredibus & ſucceſſoribus ſuis, renunciamus, & dimittimus, per preſentes. Omnes autem obligaciones, convenciones & pacta, initas, vel inita qualitercunque cum noſtris predeceſſoribus quibuſcunque, quibuſcunque temporibus, ſuper ſubjectione regni Scocie, vel incolarum ejuſdem, per quoſcunque reges vel incolas clericos, vel laicos ipſius regni Scocie, pro nobis, heredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, remittimus penitus & omnino. Et ſi que littere, carte, munimenta vel inſtrumenta, reperiantur de cetero ubicunque ſuper hujuſmodi obligacionibus, convencionibus & pactis confecte vel confecta, pro caſſis, irritis, inanibus & vacuis habeantur, nulliuſque valoris eſſe volumus vel momenti. Et ad premiſſa omnia plene, pacificè & fideliter perpetuis temporibus obſervanda, dilectis & fidelibus noſtris Henrico de Percy *conſanguineo noſtro, & Willielmo le* Zouſch *de* Aſſheby, *& eorum alteri, ad ſacramentum in animam noſtram inde preſtandum, per alias literas noſtras patentes, plenam dedimus poteſtatem ac mandatum ſpeciale: in cujus rei teſtimonium, has litteras noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum apud Ebor.*

Ebor. primo die Martii, anno regni noſtri ſecundo: PER IPSUM REGEM ET CONSILIUM IN PARLIAMENTO. Item; Edwardus, *Dei gracia, rex Anglie, dominus Hybernie, & dux Acquitanie, dilectis ac fidelibus ſuis Henrico de* Percy, *& Willelmo de la* Louſche *de* Aſſheby *ſalutem. Cum per cartam, ſive litteras noſtras patentes, conceſſerimus magnifico principi Roberto, Dei gracia, regi Scotorum, quod habeat regnum Scocie per ſuas rectas marchias, prout temporibus bone memorie Alexandri regis Scocie ultimò defuncti fuerunt habite & ſervate; & jus, ſi quod nos, vel anteceſſores noſtri in regno Scocie retroactis temporibus petierimus, vel petierint quoquomodo eidem domino regi Scotorum renunciaverimus. Nos de fidelitate veſtra & circumſpectione provida plenius confidentes, ad firmandum & vallandum omnia & ſingula in dictis carta ſive litteris contenta per juramentum in animam noſtram preſtandum, vobis & alteri veſtrum tenore preſentium, committimus poteſtatem ac ſpeciale mandatum. Et hoc omnibus & ſingulis, quorum intereſt, vel intereſſe poterit, innoteſcimus per preſentes litteras noſtras patentes ſigilli noſtri munimine roboratas. Datum apud Ebor. primo die Martii, anno regni noſtri ſecundo:* PER IPSUM REGEM ET CONSILIUM IN PARLIAMENTO. Sigillabantur autem dicte litere ſigillo magno & rotundo de cera alba, in cujus una parte erat forma cathedre in qua erat ymago regis ſedentis, induti quaſi regalibus veſtibus, cum corona in capite, & ſceptro in manu dextra, & ex utraque parte cathedre flos lilii; & in circumfe-

rentia

rentia ſcriptum erat litteris legibilibus. EDWARDUS, DEI GRACIA, REX ANGLIE, DOMINUS HYBERNIE, DUX ACQUITANIE. Ex altera autem parte ſigilli erat ymago regis armati ſedentis ſuper equum, gladium ferentis evaginatum elevatum in manu dextra, & ſuper humerum ſiniſtrum erat ſcutum in quo erant tres ymagines leopardi gradientis; & in circumferentia erat ſcriptum litteris legibilibus: EDWARDUS, DEI GRACIA, REX ANGLIE, DOMINUS HYBERNIE, DUX ACQUITANIE. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum teſtimonium preſentes litteras, ſive preſens publicum inſtrumentum, per notarios publicos infraſcriptos ſcribi & publicari mandavimus, noſtrique ſigilli fecimus appenſione muniri. Datum & actum in capella ſupradicta, ſub anno Domini milleſimo quadringenteſimo quintodecimo, menſis Martii die decima ſeptima, indictione nona, pontificatus ſanctiſſimi in Chriſto patris ac domini noſtri domini Benedicti divina providentia pape XIII. anno viceſimo ſecundo, preſentibus reverendis in Chriſto patribus & dominis dominis Willelmo Glaſguenſi, Henrico Moravienſi, Waltero Brechinenſi, Thoma Candide-Caſe, Fynlao Dunblanenſi, Alexandro Roſſenſi, & Alexandro Cathinenſi, Dei gracia, epiſcopis; Willelmo de Dumfermlyne, Waltero de *Abirbrothok*, Joanne de *Balmurinath*, Willelmo de *Kinloſſe*, Joanne de *Culros*, & Patricio de *Cambuskyneth*, Dei gracia, Abbatibus, cum multis aliis teſtibus ad premiſſam publicationem viden-

videndam & audiendam vocatis ſpecialiter & rogatis.

ET ego Ricardus de *Crag*, presbyter Sancti-Andree dioceſ. publicus imperiali authoritate notarius de mandato dicti domini mei epiſcopi Sancti-Andree, & ipſo auttoritatem preſtante, dictum inſtrumentum in publicam formam redegi, manu propria totum ſcripſi, nihil addito vel diminuto quod ſenſum mutet vel vitiet intellectum, & in preſentia judicis & teſtium, cum magiſtris Patricio de *Huyſton* canonico Glaſguenſi, Ricardo *Knyth* rectore eccleſie de *Conneth*, & domino Waltero *Ra* rectore eccleſie de *Garvalde* notariis publicis, diligenter & fideliter cum ipſo attentico aſcultavi, & ipſas originales litteras vidi, & teſtibus oſtendi, & perlegi, non vitiatas, non cancellatas, nec in aliqua ſui parte abolitas ſeu ſuſpectas neque in caſtâ, neque in ſcriptura, neque in ſigillo; premiſſiſque omnibus aliis, & ſingulis, dum ſic ut premittitur fierent & agerentur preſens fui, & ideo hic me ſubſcripſi, ſignumque meum ſolitum appoſui, rogatus & requiſitus in fidem & teſtimonium omnium premiſſorum (*a*).

ET ego Ricardus *Militis*, clericus Sancti-Andree dioceſ. publicus imperiali auttoritate notarius

(*a*) *Signum Notar.*

tarius, premiſſis omnibus & ſingulis, dum ſic ut premittitur coram prefato domino meo epiſcopo Sancti-Andree fierent & agerentur, una cum prenominatis teſtibus, preſens interfui, eaque ſic fieri vidi & audivi, & cum ſubſcriptis notariis in notam recepi, & preſens publicum inſtrumentum aliena manu ſcriptum de mandato dicti domini epiſcopi *ſimiliter* publicavi, illudque una cum appenſione ſigilli dicti reverendi patris, ſigno & ſubſcriptione meis ſolitis & conſuetis ſignavi in teſtimonium premiſſorum requiſitus & rogatus (*a*).

Et ego Robertus de *Ferny*, clericus Sancti-Andree dioceſ. publicus auttoritate apoſtolica & imperiali notarius, omnibus & ſingulis ſupraſcriptis, dum ſic ut premititur & coram prelibato domino epiſcopo Sancti-Andree fierent & agerentur, una cum ſubſcriptis teſtibus preſens interfui, eaque ut prefertur ſic fieri vidi & audivi, una cum ſubſcriptis notariis, preſens publicum inſtrumentum aliena manu ſupraſcriptum de mandato prefati domini epiſcopi publicavi, ac ſigno meo ſolito & conſueto, una cum ſigilli predicti reverendi in chriſto patris munimine ſignavi: ideo me hic manu propria ſubſcripſi, rogatus & requiſitus coram teſtibus notariiſque ſupradictis in teſtimonium veritatis omnium & ſingulorum premiſſorum (*b*).

(*a*) *Sign. Notar.*
(*b*) *Sign. Notar.*

Huic inſtrumento appenſum eſt ſigillum magnum Henrici de Wardelau *epiſcopi S. Andree.*

ADDITION.

The printer wanting matter to fill up this ſheet, I thought nothing could be more proper than ſome authentick pieces that I have quoted, and referred to in this eſſay, upon occaſion of the rebellion againſt king James III. *and of his murther enſued upon it (a). The firſt is the act of* The Propoſition of the Debate of the Field of *Striveling, which is the firſt precedent of any act made in* Scotland, *to juſtify the riſing in arms againſt the ſoveraign, and which hath ever ſince been referred to by all thoſe that have imitated the example of the authors of it. The ſecond is a Bull of pope* Innocent VIII. (*b*) *granted at the inſtant ſupplication of thoſe that had any hand in that rebellion, empowering the abbots of* Paſly *and* Ielword *to abſolve them from that crime, and from the excommunication they had incurred by it, upon their hearty repentance, and promiſe to do, for expiation of it, whatever penance ſhould be enjoined them. Both theſe acts are quoted and referred to in the relation of this tragedy, and ſerve to give light to the ſubject.*

(*a*) V. p. 253, & p. 279, &c. ſupra.
(*b*) V. p. 280, ſupra.

NUM. IX.

NUM. IX.

The Proposition of the Debate of the Field of Striveling.

From the Acts of Parliament, commonly called the *Black Acts*, printed by *Lekprevik*, fol. 82.

Parl. K. James the IVth. 6 Octeb. 1488, *cap.* 14.

ITEM, in yis present parlament our soveverane lord beand present together with his three estaitis of the realme, was proponit the debait and cause of the field of Striveling, in the guhilk unquhile James king of Scotland, quhom God assolize, father to our soveraine lord happenit to be siane, and the cause and occasion thairof commonit, openit and arguit among the lordis of the three estaits, John lord Glamis presentit and schew certane articlis subscribit with the said unquhile K. James hand, the tenor of the quhilk followis, &c. The quhilkis beand read and schawin that the said articlis was diverse timis grantit to, and blokin be perverst counsal of diverse personnis beand with him for the tyme: quhich counsalit and assistit him in the inbringing of Englishmen, and to the perpetual subjectioun of the realme, and under desait and colour maid and refusit, and that our soveraign lord that now is ever consentit for the gude of the realme and the profit thairof. (For the quhilk the earl of Huntlie, the earl of Errol, the earl Marshal, the lord Glamis, and utheris diverse barons, and utheris the kyngis true liegis

left him, and his defaitfull and perverſe counſale, and adherit to our ſoveran lord that now is, and his true opinion for the common gude of the realme) the quhilk mater being ſhawin examinat and commonit, and underſtanding be the three eſtaitis and haill bodie of the parlament, they rypelie abiſit declarit and concludit, and in thair lauteis and allegeance ilk ane for himſelf, declarit and concludit: that the ſlauchter done and committit in the field of Striviling, quhair our ſoveran lordis father happenit to be ſlane, and utheris divers his baronis and liegis, was alluterlie in their default, and culourit diſſait done be him and his perverſt counſale diverſe tymes befoir the ſaid field: and that our ſoveran lord that now is, and the trew lordis and baronis that wes with him in the ſamin field, war innocent, free, and quyte of the ſaid ſlauchters done in the ſaid field, and all purſute of the occaſioun and cauſe of the ſamin: and that part of the three eſtatis forſaidis, prelatis, biſhopis, great baronis, burgeſſis, gaif thair ſeillis hairupon, togegether with our ſoveran lordis greit ſeill, to be ſhawin and producit to our H. Father the pape, the kingis of France, Hiſpanzie, Denmark, and uther realmis, as ſall be ſene expedient for the tyme.

NUM. X.

NUM. X.

Reſcriptum Innocentii papæ VIII. *quo facultatem impertit abſolvendi eos qui in Jacobum regem* III. *inſurrexerant & de perpetrato crimine ab intimis ſe dolere proteſtabantur, &c.*

Ex Collect. C. de Panmure.

INNOCENTIUS epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei dilectis filiis de Paſleto & de Iedworth Glaſguen. dioceſ. monaſteriorum abbatibus & cancellario eccleſiæ Glaſguenſis ſalutem & apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Exuberans apoſtolicæ ſedis clementia recurrentium ad eam poſt exceſſum cum humilitate perſonarum ſtatui libenter conſulere, eiſque ſe propitiam exhibere conſuevit atque benignam. Exhibita ſiquidem nobis nuper pro parte nonnullorum regnicolarum regni Scotiæ petitio continebat, quod olim, poſtquam per nos intellecto quod nonnulli domini tam ſpirituales quam temporales dicti regni adverſus claræ memoriæ Jacobum tertium ipſius regni regem, illiuſque ſtatum inſurgere, imo & regem ipſum a dicti regni regimine expellere intendebant & moliebantur: noſque per quaſdam literas noſtras, nonnullas ſententias, cenſuras & pœnas eccleſiaſticas, etiam privationis dignitatum & beneficiorum eccleſiaſticorum; necnon ad illa inhabilitationis, contra ipſum regem inſurgentes, & eorundem inſurgentium fautores promulgaveramus: quæ poſt modum in partibus illis promulgatæ fuerunt, nonnulli regnicolæ ejuſdem

regni

regni cariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro Jacobo quarto ejus filio moderno regi, tunc principi Scotiæ, qui pro ſalute & utilitate defuncti regis & regni prædictorum, ſtatum & conſilium ipſius regis reformare, & quoſdam regis prædicti conſiliarios vi & potentia expellere deliberaverunt, adhæſerunt, & illius fautores extiterunt: ac pro parte tam defuncti quam moderni regum prædictorum, exercitus parati fuiſſent & inter ſe manus conſeruiſſent, præfatus rex defunctus in conflictu cum diverſis aliis perſonis occubuit, nonnullis ex præfatis exponentibus in dicto conflictu præſentibus; & alias aliquotiens ipſi regnicolæ qui prætextu dumtaxat dicti conflictus contra ipſum regem defunctum inſurrexerant. Unde tam præſentes quam abſentes adhærentes, & alias contra dictum regem defunctum inſurgentes præfati, dubitant ſententias, cenſuras, & pœnas incurriſſe. Cum autem, ſicut eadem petitio ſubjungebat, *Exponentes præfati de præmiſſis ab intimis doleant, cupiantque pro commiſſis pœnitentiam agere ſalutarem*, pro parte ipſorum nobis fuit humiliter ſupplicatum, ut ipſos a ſententiis, cenſuris, & pœnis præfatis in ipſis litteris noſtris quomodolibet contentis abſolvere, ac alias ipſis & eorum ſtatui in præmiſſis opportunè providere de benignitate apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos igitur attendentes quod præfatæ ſedis clementia ad eam recurrentibus poſt exceſſum cum humilitate perſonis, ſuæ pietatis gremium favorabiliter aperire conſuevit, ac volentes prædictos, apud nos alias de probitatis & virtutum meritis commendatos, horum intuitu favo-

ribus

ribus proſequi gratioſis, eorum in hac parte ſupplicationibus inclinati, diſcretioni veſtræ per apoſtolica ſcripta committimus & mandamus quatenus vos, duo, vel unus veſtrum omnes & ſingulos qui in dicto conflictu interfuerunt, ac abſentes qui illis adhæſerunt, & auxilium, conſilium aſſenſum & favorem verbo vel facto quoquomodo præſtiterunt, nec non qui alias quam prætextu duntaxat dicti conflictus contra ipſum regem defunctum inſurrexerunt, & contra dictas noſtras litteras quoviſmodo devenerunt, ac ſi eorum nomina & cognomina præſentibus inſererentur, ſi hæc humiliter petierint, ab omnibus & ſingulis cenſuris & pœnis in dictis noſtris litteris quomodo libet contentis, & per eos præmiſſorum occaſione qualitercunque & quotieſcunque incurſis, quas ac ſi litteræ prædictæ de verbo ad verbum inſertæ forent præſentibus habere volumus pro expreſſis, auctoritate noſtra hac vice duntaxat abſolvatis in forma eccleſiæ conſueta, injunctis ipſis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ pœnitentia ſalutari, & aliis quæ de jure fuerint injugenda; eoſque & eorum ſingulos unitati ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ, & ſacramentorum eccleſiaſticorum participationi, communionique fidelium, eadem auctoritate reſtituatis. Non obſtantibus præmiſſis, ac conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus apoſtolicis, cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcunque. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum anno incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo quadringenteſimo nonageſimo primo 5to Kalend. Julii pontificatus noſtri anno ſeptimo.

FINIS.

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